

Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly

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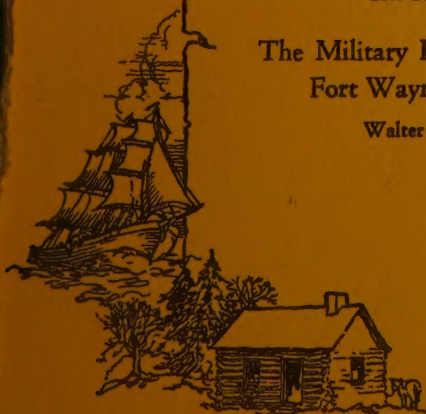
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Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly

VOLUME XXIX

SUMMER



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Gemshorn and "Klingel"

An Account with a Request

By F. R. WEBBER

When the founders of the Missouri Synod sailed for America 108 years ago, they brought with them a church organ and three bells. There is little doubt that it was an organ built in Germany. Since St. Louis was a frontier town of but 20,000 population at that time, the organ of the Saxon immigrants must have created considerable interest. It would be interesting to know more about the organ that led the singing of the Saxon fathers, and somewhere some record of it may exist. It is remotely possible that the organ itself may still exist in some forgotten church.

From at least the year 1764 onward, organs were imported from Germany. The best of these were built by Johann Snetzler, originally of Passau. Three famous churches had Snetzler organs — Trinity in New York (1764), Christ Church in Cambridge (1764), and St. Michael's in Charleston (1767). A Snetzler organ, built in 1742, still exists intact in the Belle Skinner Museum in Holyoke, Mass. Another famous Snetzler is the Bard organ, built in 1761 and still existing. Yet another is the 1762 Snetzler in South Dennis, Mass.

These organs may give one a general idea of the type of organ imported from Germany in early days. The Bard organ, for example, has a single row of keys and five sets of pipes. It is but 4 feet 2 inches wide, 2 feet 4½ inches deep, and 7 feet 2 inches high. It has a paneled case on all four sides, and usually such organs had a few rather small pipes displayed in the front of the case. They could be moved about, as in the case of a piano.

Church organs were small in those days, for there was a decided prejudice against musical instruments in a church. In a curious old book, Nathaniel D. Gould's *Church Music in America* (Boston, 1853), attention was called to the fact that church organs were hardly tolerated in America. When they were finally introduced, it was usually with the understanding that the organ must

be small and played very softly. This statement by Mr. Gould may throw light on the famous Brattle organ of Boston; for when Mr. Brattle presented it to a Boston church, he did it with the understanding that it must be "played with a loud noise."

It was against such a background of puritanical prejudice that the Missouri Synod forefathers unpacked and set up their organ. That it may have been a Snetzler organ is merest conjecture. Mr. Snetzler built small, compact organs suited to shipment overseas, and from time to time his excellent instruments are discovered in some remote church.

In 1864 Dr. Walther's congregation built a new church. It was an imposing building 60 feet wide, 134 feet long, 90 feet across the transepts, and its height was 42 feet. It had a tower and a lofty spire. In it was an organ built by J. G. Pfeffer. It was a two-manual organ with 34 stops, built at a cost of \$5,400, and it was said at the time to be the largest and finest in St. Louis.

The Pfeffers were well-known St. Louis organ builders. Records mention a John G. Pfeffer, who was born about the year 1792 in Bavaria and who came to America some time prior to 1838. However, *The Diapason*, May 1, 1910, contains an obituary notice of another John G. Pfeffer, born in Prussia in 1823, who died in St. Louis in 1910. He is described as a veteran organ builder. The name of the firm was J. G. Pfeffer & Son, but whether Dr. Walther's organ was built by the Pfeffer who was born about 1792 or by the younger Pfeffer is difficult to say. If it was built by the former man, then he must have been 72 years old at the time. In any case, there were Pfeffer organs in many Lutheran churches within living memory. Any further information regarding the organ brought from Germany by the Saxon immigrants, or in regard to the Pfeffer organ of 1864 and the man who built it, would be greatly appreciated.

A little to the east of the former John Wanamaker store in New York stands Trinity Lutheran Church of the Missouri Synod. The building is of the Greek Revival period and is one of a very few surviving examples of that postcolonial style. In it is a very old organ of curious design. It has led the praises of the congregation for more than a century, according to local tradition. It stands in a gallery over the main entrance doorway, and its console is reversed, so that the organist sits with his back to the organ. Trackers and stop action are contained in a shallow box under the pedal board. The fact that its drawknobs are of the

round-shanked type and with a relatively short draw is puzzling, for an organ of the year 1850 would very likely have drawknobs with square walnut shanks and a draw of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches. It may be that the reversed console was a later addition, for the round stop shanks would suggest a date of 1865 or later. Except for this detail the organ appears to be in its original condition. It is of pleasing tonality, and a careful cleaning of its pipework would give our generation an organ such as was used in the days of the synodical pioneers. Its unusual stop list is as follows:

TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH, NEW YORK

Organ said to date from 1850

MANUAL ORGAN: 11 stops

1 Principal	8'
2 Melodia	8'
3 Gedeckt	8'
4 Gamba, TC	8'
5 Gemshorn, TC	8'
6 Bass Unisono	8'
7 Principal	4'
8 Floete	4'
9 Quinte	3'
10 Mixture	
11 Octave	2'

PEDAL ORGAN: 3 stops

12 Principal Bass	16'
13 Subbass	16'
14 Octave Bass	8'

COUPLER: Pedal Coppel

ACCESSORIES: *Klingel*

Compass of the manuals: 56 notes

Compass of the pedal organ: 18 notes

Compass of the bass unisono: 13 notes

This curious stop nomenclature, with a mixture of German and American names, is rather puzzling. The organ may have been built in Germany, as many believe; or it might possibly be the work of the famous Johann Geib, one of the twelve piano builders, known in musical history as the "twelve apostles," who went from Germany to England in 1760. From there Adam and John Geib came to America and began to build church organs about the year 1797 or 1798. A paid announcement in the *New York Argus*, December 27, 1798, states that John Geib, piano builder, lately of London, is building an organ of 800 pipes for the German Lutheran church (undoubtedly old St. Matthew's Lutheran Church) at William and Frankfort Streets, New York. In the same paper is an item stating that the new organ in the Lutheran church will be opened January 8, 1799, and that Mr. Rausch and Mr. Möller will exhibit it. Mr. Geib built fine organs, and one of these, built in 1806, stood in Central Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa. Old photographs show it to be a large organ with a singularly beautiful colonial case, in white.

Several features of the Trinity Church organ call for comment. It has a fairly complete Diapason chorus, composed of a Principal 8', a Principal 4', a Quinte 3' (actually $2\frac{2}{3}'$), a so-

called Octave 2', and a Mixture. This fine foundation gives the organ considerable body plus a delightful brilliancy. The remaining stops are scaled and voiced so as to blend without adding thickness or "mud" to the ensemble. The Bass unisono 8' is, of course, merely a common bass to be drawn with either the Gamba or the Gemshorn, each of which contains but 43 pipes. This use of incomplete stops was very common a century ago. The draw-knob marked *Klingel* is a mystery. Today it serves no apparent purpose, but evidently the organ builder intended it to be some sort of a signal to the man who taps the bell during the Lord's Prayer. However, Trinity Church has neither tower nor bell; hence it is to be presumed that the organ once stood in some other church. Tubular chimes were unknown in those days.

In the Inner Mission Church, New York, is a curious old organ with drawstops of the old, square-shanked kind and disks engraved in shaded Spencerian. The building is the former home of Redeemer Congregation, of which the late Dr. William Dallmann was once pastor. Years ago the writer was assured that the organ was imported from Germany. Another local tradition states that it was purchased from an old Episcopal church that once stood on the site of the present Astor Hotel. On its swell shoe is "G & S," which suggests Geib & Son, although the organ does not look as old as their time. The organ is of excellent construction, and the pipes are of a fine quality of workmanship, suggesting the work of Henry Erben (1800—1884), whose superb organs were once to be found in 150 of New York's leading churches. The stop list of the Inner Mission organ is:

INNER MISSION LUTHERAN CHURCH, NEW YORK

Organ builder unknown

GREAT ORGAN: 10 stops

1 Open Diapason	8'	14 Dulciana Treble	8'
2 Dulciana, TC	8'	15 Dulciana Bass	8'
3 Melodia, TC	8'	16 Stopped Diapason, TC	8'
4 Stopped Diapason Bass	8'	17 Principal, TC	4'
5 Principal	4'	18 Twelfth, TC	2 $\frac{2}{3}$ '
6 Dolcan Flute, TC	4'	19 Fifteenth, TC	2'
7 Twelfth	2 $\frac{2}{3}$ '	20 Trumpet	8'
8 Fifteenth	2'	Tremulant	
9 Sesquialtera, 19—22		PEDAL ORGAN: 1 stop	
10 Cremona, TC	8'	21 Pedal CCC	16'

SWELL ORGAN: 10 stops

11 Bourdon Treble	16'
12 Bourdon Bass	16'
13 Open Diapason, TC	8'

COUPLERS:

Great and swell coupler
Pedal and swell coupler
Pedal and great coupler

Bellows Alarm

Of all the old organs in Missouri Synod Lutheran churches, that of Zion's Lutheran Church of Boston certainly deserves first place. Unfortunately the stately building and its organ were sold recently to a congregation of another synod, but for generations this magnificent old organ led the hymns of praise of the oldest Missouri Synod church in Boston. As an organ of superb tonal quality, and as one of the few unspoiled examples of the work of the world-famous E. & G. G. Hook firm, this organ has been described in music magazines. It has had tape recordings made of it, and the Boston Chapter of the American Guild of Organists sponsored a recital played on it. It is to be hoped that the new owners will not ruin this historic organ by means of the injudicious rebuildings that have ruined literally hundreds of organs of America's golden age of organ building, namely, the years 1840—1870.

ZION'S LUTHERAN CHURCH, BOSTON

E. & G. G. Hook, 1859, Opus 254

GREAT ORGAN: 10 stops

1	Open Diapason	8'
2	Dulciana	8'
3	Melodia	8'
4	Stopped Diapason	8'
5	Principal	4'
6	Twelfth	3'
7	Fifteenth	2'
8	Sesquialtera, 2 ranks	
9	Mixture	
10	Trumpet	8'

SWELL ORGAN: 11 stops

11	Bourdon	16'
12	Open Diapason	8'
13	Keraulophon	8'
14	Stopped Diapason	8'
15	Principal	4'
16	Violin	4'
17	Fifteenth	2'
18	Dulciana Cornet	
19	Trumpet	8'
20	Hautboy	8'
21	Vox Humana	8'
	Tremulant	

CHOIR ORGAN: 8 stops

22	Open Diapason	8'
23	Clarabella	8'
24	Viol d'amour	8'
25	Stopped Diapason Treble	8'
26	Stopped Diapason Bass	8'
27	Celestina	4'
28	Flute a Cheminee	4'
29	Clarinet	8'

PEDAL ORGAN: 3 stops

30	Double Open Diapason	16'
31	Double Stopped Diapason	16'
32	Viola	8'

COUPLERS:

Swell to great
Swell to pedal
Great to pedal

Compass of the manuals: CC to a in
alt.: 58 notes

Compass of the pedal organ: 2 octaves
and 2 notes: 27 notes

The organ has a brilliant ensemble, and a little of the archaic quality which suggests the fine organs of France and Germany. Many baroque enthusiasts have visited and played this organ (one man had to be asked to leave, for he played until long after midnight), and they are unanimous in their praises; for here is an

organ that has everything that the baroque men are seeking, plus ample foundation tone that the modern neo-baroque organ seldom includes.

Between the years 1840 and 1870, some of the finest organs in the world were built in America. Lacking in the gadgets that the present generation demands, they had a superb tonal quality that is characteristic of a day of fine materials and painstaking and artistic workmanship. They had majesty, and a sparkling brilliancy that astonishes the organist of today. It is brilliancy without screamy quality. Many such organs have been discovered during the past decade in little churches far from the beaten path, where congregations fortunately are too poor to pay for modernization. Often these old organs are choked with a century of dust, and their leather tracker buttons are crumbling. A careful washing of the pipes by an expert, and a dollar's worth of new leather buttons usually restores these old organs to their original tonal beauty. Even old reeds respond beautifully to careful treatment by an expert.

Fortunately there is a group of people, including John V. V. Elsworth, Dr. Homer D. Blanchard, Miss Barbara J. Owen, Dr. Joseph A. Maurer, Dr. Leonard Ellinwood, Mr. Kenneth Simmons, and others, who have been writing magazine articles, delivering lectures, and making tape recordings. They have awakened this country to the artistic and historic importance of the old organs, built by such masters as the Hook brothers, Thomas Appleton, David Tannenberg, Henry Erben, William A. Johnson, John and Caleb Odell, and Hilborne L. and Frank Roosevelt. Not only have these men and women brought to light much historic source material, but they have rescued scores of fine old organs from the ruthless rebuild man. Just recently a magnificent old Henry Erben organ was broken up by a Lutheran congregation which did not realize its importance. These historic and tonally superb organs deserve better treatment than they have received in the past. Not all old organs are good, of course, but where the work of one of the great master builders still exists, every effort should be made to preserve its original identity.

Trinity Lutheran Church in Lancaster, Pa., has one of the finest old colonial buildings in America, and in the gallery is the architecturally superb case of an old organ built in 1774 by David Tannenberg (1728—1804), whose name is spelled Tannenberg, Tannenberger, and Taneberg on various old records. He was

the foremost of a group of noted Moravian organ builders of colonial days.

The writer has undertaken to collect information regarding the early organs of the Missouri Synod and the men who built them. This information will be turned over to the Concordia Historical Institute. Stop lists of organs more than 75 years old would prove of historic value. The original stop names should be indicated, for these often serve to fix the date of an old organ and even to identify the builder where the name-plate is missing. The compass of the manuals and the pedal board, and the composition of Mixtures should be included. Historical data regarding the organ is of value; likewise the old printed lists of organs that builders sent to clergymen years ago. These are often discovered in forgotten trunks or in old church records, and they are useful, for good organs have a way of migrating from church to church.

In the various European countries great pains are taken to preserve the historic records of old church organs. In America old clocks, household furniture, and early motor cars are objects of attention, but the organs with which hymns of praise were sung form a field that was neglected until a decade ago, when Mr. John V. V. Elsworth's years of research became known among church people. Today there are said to be some ten thousand amateur organ research workers in America alone, and the unpardonable destruction of a unique form of early Americana will, it is hoped, be a thing of the past.

Editorial Notes

Your editor is happy that both the director, the Rev. August R. Suelflow, and the president of Concordia Historical Institute, Dr. A. C. Repp, will continue their activities with the *QUARTERLY*. Their experience and judgment will be of great value in the planning and editing of this journal.

The readers and not the editor of a journal are important. The editor acts as a medium between the contributors and the readers; the contributors are sharing their views and findings with the readers. With the change in editors the *QUARTERLY* will continue to serve its readers, bringing them interesting, informative articles on Lutheranism in America, especially on the history of The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod.

The QUARTERLY should help its readers understand the present by a portrayal of the living past. Scholarly articles will reveal areas of significance. Memoirs and reminiscences will bring authentic incidents and anecdotes about the past. The aim to present articles which will place controversial issues of today in a historical frame of reference will not be discarded.

Readers of the QUARTERLY are invited to make their wishes known. Which articles pleased you? What topics do you wish to have investigated?

* * * * *

In this issue, at the end of an era, the historian of Fort Wayne's Concordia, Dr. Walter G. Herrling, examines a unique feature of that school's history. His article will bring back memories to alumni; it will arouse interest among those not too well acquainted with the military feature of a school whose purpose was to prepare men for future training for the Gospel ministry.

Fraternal relations between the Missouri Synod and other Lutheran synods were fostered by academic ties. Already before the founding of the Synodical Conference, fellowship in the Spirit had found expression in the fellowship of kindred minds; and among the schools of the church particularly the Seminary was regarded as the agency for binding the synods together. An investigation of these relationships reveals the strategic importance which was attached to these academic ties a century ago.

The competent sketch on early organs by F. R. Webber shows the diversity of interests which grips historians—all of intense interest to them. We trust that the request of the author will result in a widespread response. Surely there are many who might share their historical hobbies with our readers.

* * * * *

A collection of essays recently published by the University of Minnesota Press was written by Dr. August C. Krey and entitled *History and the Social Web*. This distinguished historian reminds his readers that we cannot escape the past and that an understanding of history will make the social order of today more intelligible, for it is "world wide and time deep." Readers of the QUARTERLY will relish these essays by Dr. Krey. They were written not chiefly for the professional historian but for the "average reader." In one essay, for instance, he asks, "What Is American History?" In answer he takes Erasmus on an imaginary trip through our country. You will enjoy reading it.

A discussion of A. Wentz's *Basic History of Lutheranism in America*, written by Dr. L. W. Spitz, will be found in the June 1956 issue of the *Concordia Theological Monthly*. Dr. Spitz's essay is well worth reading. Dr. Wentz's book should be on the shelves of our pastors, teachers, school libraries, public libraries, and church members. It ought not, however, simply find a resting place on these shelves; it should be read.

* * * * *

The CONCORDIA HISTORICAL INSTITUTE QUARTERLY, in recognizing the hundredth anniversary of the Minnesota District, is mindful of the many blessings which the Lord of His Church has showered on the activities which have been carried on in this District, whose geographical boundaries at one time extended to the Pacific. Our readers will look forward to the article by Dr. Gilbert Thiele in the fall issue of the QUARTERLY. C. S. M.

* * * * *

Martin Luther Institute, Luther College

The Martin Luther Institute, a five-year series of lectures by world-renowned Luther scholars, sponsored by the college's division of religion and philosophy, will be held September 30 through October 3, 1956, at Luther College, Decorah, Iowa.

Appearing in the Institute's first year will be E. Gordon Rupp of Cambridge University, England, and Roland H. Bainton, professor of church history at Yale University, author of the best-selling Luther biography, *Here I Stand*. Also on schedule as visiting lecturer will be Dr. Warren Quanbeck, rising young Luther scholar, professor of New Testament and systematic theology at Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.

The series of lectures opening in the fall of this year will culminate in 1961, in the centennial year of Luther College.

Intersynodical Unity Fostered Through Co-operation in Education (1859—1874)

By CARL S. MEYER

Among the groups from other lands which settled in America the Scandinavians shared the heritage of the Reformation with the German Lutherans of the Missouri Synod. During the 1840's and 1850's Norwegian immigrants came into this country in large numbers; they were generally staunch Lutherans. "A greater number of those who came in the forties and fifties were people who had been intimately connected with the Church in the homeland, and they brought with them greater respect and love for the rites and usages of the Church of their Fathers."¹ Already in 1853, after four years of discussions among some of these Norwegian immigrants, agreement was reached on various questions of church polity and doctrine, and so the Norwegian Synod was organized, a confessionally orthodox, conservative Lutheran group.²

To supply it with needed pastors the Norwegian Synod turned first to the church in the mother country,³ but the limited number thus recruited did not meet the needs of the growing church body. No consideration, it seems, was given to the possibility of sending young men to Norway for their theological training; instead, the training of pastors in this country either within their own synod or in the theological school of another Lutheran synod became the prime consideration.⁴

The Norwegian Synod

In 1855 the young Norwegian Synod resolved to send two men to investigate several Lutheran seminaries to determine which institution would be most suitable for training Norwegian Lutheran pastors. The men chosen to make the visits to the schools in

¹ Chr. Anderson, "Historical Sketch of the Beginning, Growth, and Development of the Norwegian Synod," Part One in *Grace for Grace: Brief History of the Norwegian Synod*, ed. S. C. Ylvisaker (Mankato, Minnesota: Lutheran Synod Book Company, 1943), p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 32—46.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68: "It was *natural* accordingly that they first looked to the Church of Norway for the needed pastors." Italics by the present writer. Cf. Dixon Ryan Fox, *Ideas in Motion* (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1935), p. 6, who spoke of the reception of "foreign practitioners of the specialty" as the first stage in the rise of professional competence in a pioneer society.

⁴ Fox pointed out that a return to the homeland for instruction was usual in a pioneer society before the establishment of schools.

Columbus, Ohio (Ohio Synod), Buffalo, N. Y. (Buffalo Synod), and St. Louis, Mo. (Missouri Synod), were the pastors Jakob Aal Ottesen and Nils Brandt.⁵ However, it was not until 1857 that the visits were made.

Their report favored the St. Louis institution. The lengthy report reviewed the history of the St. Louis school and appraised its resources. The scholarship and the devotion to Lutheranism of the faculty, the Christian love of the members of Synod, especially the unity of spirit among them, and their practice of church discipline were cited. These men delineated the course of study at St. Louis in their report, and they praised the fidelity to "Old Lutheranism" found among the Missourians.⁶

The establishment of their own school was not lost sight of by the Norwegians. Accordingly the Norwegian Synod resolved to erect its own Norwegian college and encouraged its pastors and congregations to contribute to a college fund. The revenue accruing to this fund would be used to establish a Norwegian theological professorship at "the St. Louis University" until synod decided otherwise. This professor would have to be a member of the Norwegian Synod and of the pastoral conferences of that synod; during vacation he should visit the Norwegian Lutheran congregations. The establishment of a Norwegian University did not mean that the professorship would not be retained at St. Louis.⁷ The resolution stated: "This temporary arrangement would bring a threefold advantage: (1) provide teachers for the Church in the near future; (2) help the Synod to gain experience before starting its own school; (3) bring the Synod into contact with

⁵ Chr. Anderson, "Historical Sketch," *Grace for Grace*, p. 69; J. A. Petersen, "Jakob Aal Ottesen," in *Faith of Our Fathers*, ed. George O. Lillegard (Mankato, Minn.: Lutheran Synod Book Company, 1953), p. 23.

Ylvisaker wrote a brief article on the relationship between the two synods from 1855 to 1920. S. C. Ylvisaker, "The Missouri Synod and the Norwegians," *Ebenezer*, ed. W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922), pp. 264—277.

Walther to Fick, December 9, 1856, *Walthers Briefe*, ed. L. Fuerbringer (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1915), I, 107, 108.

⁶ The entire report was translated into German by Prof. A. Biewend from the October 1857 issue of the *Kirkelig Maanedstidende* and published in *Der Lutheraner*, XIV (December 15, 1857), 67—69, and *ibid.*, XIV (December 29, 1857), 73—76, under the title "Bericht der Pastoren Ottesen und Brandt ueber ihre Reise nach St. Louis, Mo., Columbus, Ohio, u. Buffalo, N. Y."

⁷ The resolution has been paraphrased from the German translation made by J. A. Ottesen of part of the Norwegian original. *Neunter Synodal-Bericht*, 1857, "Beilage F," pp. 100, 101. (Note: Bibliographical data of official proceedings are not given in full. Where not otherwise stated, they are of the Missouri Synod and on deposit in Concordia Historical Institute.)

a church body which had been established on a truly Lutheran foundation and thus help it to become strengthened in the knowledge of Christian doctrine and of matters pertaining to church government.”⁸

This report was considered by a committee of the Missouri Synod convention of 1857, which Jakob Aal Ottesen and Ulrik Vilhelm Koren attended.⁹ The committee readily came to the conclusion that the Norwegian Synod should train pastors at St. Louis and that the Norwegian professor would teach the Norwegian students German so that they could benefit from the general courses in the school. He would instruct them, too, in the Norwegian language. He would also be required to lecture



Rev. Ulrik Vilhelm Koren

in German or Latin and would receive the same status as the other professors. Although he would be elected by the Norwegian Synod, the Missouri Synod would have to ratify his election. He would have to subscribe to all the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church. The question of his ordination was not settled. Regarding the cost for room and board for students it was recommended that if the Norwegian congregations supplied that school with gifts *in natura*, there would be no difference in cost.¹⁰ The Missouri Synod concurred in the recommendations.¹¹

Fraternal relations between the two synods were formally established.¹² The initiative had been taken by the Norwegian

⁸ Quoted by Chr. Anderson, "Historical Sketch," *Grace for Grace*, p. 69. A. Biewend, "Auszug aus den Verhandlungen der norwegisch-lutherischen Synode, versammelt in Little Iowa, Minneshiek Co., Iowa, waehrend der Tage vom 9. bis 13. October 1857," *Der Lutheraner*, XIV (March 9, 1858), 114, 115.

⁹ *Neunter Synodal-Bericht*, 1857, p. 53, 100. For Koren see Chr. Anderson "Ulrik Vilhelm Koren," in *Faith of Our Fathers*, pp. 30—35; S. C. Ylvisaker, "Dr. U. V. Koren The Theologian," in *Faith of Our Fathers*, pp. 36—44.

¹⁰ *Neunter Synodal-Bericht*, 1857, p. 101. The committee members were Walther, Sihler, Fuerbringer, Keyl, Seyffarth, Wyneken, and Biewend.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54.

¹² *Ibid.* See also *ibid.*, "Beilage G," pp. 102, 103, for Wyneken's official letter to the Norwegian Synod in which he states "... wir nehmen die dargebotene Bruderhand an..."

In 1858 Walther visited the convention of the Norwegian Synod and reported about this visit to the St. Louis Lutheran pastors. "Protokoll-Buch der St. Louis Conferenz vom 7. October bis zum April 1864," MS bound volume, pages

Synod because of its concern to train its pastors in true Lutheranism. Educational facilities brought about the crossing of synodical lines.

Two years were to pass before a man was elected to the Norwegian professorship at St. Louis. After all conditions had been met, Professor Laur. Larsen took over his duties on November 1, 1859, as Norwegian Professor at Concordia College and Seminary in St. Louis. There were eighty-four students at the institution at that time, of whom seven were Norwegians.¹³ Already a year before, however, some (the exact number is not known) Norwegian students enrolled at Concordia.¹⁴

Larsen did not remain long in St. Louis. The Norwegian Synod opened its college near La Crosse, Wis., in 1861. F. A. Schmidt of the Missouri Synod joined Larsen as instructor of the eleven students of this new institution,¹⁵ which became Luther College in Decorah, Iowa.¹⁶ The establishment of Luther College was *not* an unfriendly act; the fraternal relationships between the synods were strong.¹⁷

Norwegian students continued to enroll at the St. Louis

numbered, Concordia Historical Institute, p. 53, minutes of Monday, October 11, 1858, morning session.

At the Free Lutheran Conference in Fort Wayne, Ind., July 14—20, 1859, J. A. Ottesen was elected vice-president. *Der Lutheraner*, XVI (September 6, 1859), 10. Fraternal greetings were extended from the Norwegian pastoral conference. *Ibid.*, XVI (October 18, 1859), 37.

Ottesen assisted at the installation of the Rev. Andreas Zigel as pastor of the Trinity Lutheran Church, Adams Township, Allen County, Indiana, on the first Sunday in Lent, 1860, while visiting in Fort Wayne. *Ibid.*, XVI (April 3, 1860), 135.

¹³ "Froehliche Nachricht aus unserer Concordia," *ibid.*, XVI (November 15, 1859), 55.

See Karen Larsen, *Laur. Larsen: Pioneer College President* (Northfield, 1936), *passim*.

¹⁴ Walther to Ottesen, December 29, 1858, *Walthers Briefe*, ed. Fuerbringer, I, 118.

¹⁵ The December 1861 issue of *Kirkelig Maanedstittende* as quoted in *Der Lutheraner*, XVIII (January 8, 1862), 86, 87. *Elfter Synodal-Bericht*, 1863, 71, 72, reported that Larsen left at the time the preparatory department was transferred to Fort Wayne.

¹⁶ Chr. Anderson, "Historical Sketch," in *Grace for Grace*, pp. 70, 71; *Der Lutheraner*, XIX (September 3, 1862), 5, 6. Cf. *ibid.*, XXII (December 15, 1865), 57, 58.

¹⁷ Six pastors of the Norwegian Synod participated in the convention of the Western District of the Missouri Synod at Crete, Will County, Ill., May 15—18, 1862. *Der Lutheraner*, XVIII (May 28, 1862), 166.

Walther praised the spirit of the Norwegian Synod highly after having attended their convention with Craemer at Town Perry, Dane County, Wis., June 8—15, 1864. *Ibid.*, XX (August 1, 1864), 181.

The Norwegian Synod joined in a request that Walther take over the writing of one of his theological works. *Ibid.*, XXI (January 15, 1865), 73.

Seminary,¹⁸ and the Norwegian Synod continued to support it financially. A subsidy of \$1,000 a year was offered by the Norwegian Synod in 1866 for professors' salaries—and accepted.¹⁹ From October 15, 1866, to August 1, 1869, the Missouri Synod received \$2,000 from the Norwegian Synod.²⁰ Another \$2,000 was received from August 1, 1869, to April 1, 1872, according to the report of the treasurer.²¹ From April 1, 1872, to October 1, 1874, \$1,500 was received.²² The Norwegian Synod was meeting its promise to the extent of paying \$5,500 in nine years. Up to 1865 no less than eleven out of thirty-one Norwegian pastors and teachers had studied in St. Louis.²³ A majority of the eight graduates of Luther College in 1866 enrolled at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. "This was followed by larger or smaller groups each year."²⁴ In 1869—70, twenty-two Norwegian students were found in the entire student body of 147 at Concordia Seminary.²⁵

Three Norwegians graduated in 1871, in a class of thirty-seven. That fall twenty-five Norwegians were numbered in the student body of 150; thirteen were in the theoretical division, which had an enrollment of fifty-four; twelve out of the eighty-three students enrolled in the practical division were Norwe-

Ibid., XXII (October 15, 1865), 31, carried a notice of F. A. Schmidt's *The Lutheran Watchman*.

In the voters' meeting of the St. Louis congregation on January 2, 1866, attention was called to the fact that Professor Schmidt in Decorah, Iowa, was publishing *The Lutheran Watchman*. "Protokoll der Generalgemeinde, 1865—1876," p. 17, minutes of January 2, 1866. In Concordia Historical Institute.

At the dedication of Luther College on October 14, 1865, Pastor U. V. Koren addressed a special word of greeting to the visitors from the Missouri Synod. Prof. E. A. Brauer gave the German address on this occasion; Professor Lange of Fort Wayne, the English oration. "Einweihung des Colleges unserer lieben Norwegischen Glaubensbrüder zu Decorah, Iowa," *Der Lutheraner*, XXII (December 15, 1865), 57, 58. "Rede des Pastor Koren bei der Einweihung des norwegischen Colleges zu Decorah," *ibid.*, XXII (January 1, 1866), 65, 66. "Rede des Prof. Brauer, gehalten bei der Einweihung des norwegischen Seminars zu Decorah," *ibid.*, XXII (January 1, 1866), 66—69.

¹⁸ " . . . aber noch sind mehrere norwegische Studenten in dem Seminar geblieben und aufs neue eingetreten. . . ." *Elfter Synodal-Bericht*, 1863, p. 72.

¹⁹ *Zwölfter und Dreizehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1864 u. 1866, p. 75.

²⁰ *Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1869, p. 111.

²¹ *Fuenfzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1872, p. 115.

²² *Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1874, p. 86.

²³ "Rede des Pastor Koren bei der Einweihung des norwegischen Colleges zu Decorah," *Der Lutheraner*, XXII (January 1, 1866), 65; "Von unsern 31 Predigern und Lehrern sind nicht weniger als 11 Schueler dieser Synode."

²⁴ Chr. Anderson, "Historical Sketch," *Grace for Grace*, p. 73.

²⁵ [A.] C[raemer], "Unsere theologische Anstalt," *Der Lutheraner*, XXVII (November 1, 1870), 39.

gians.²⁶ In 1873—74, twenty Norwegians were numbered among the eighty-six students of the theoretical division of Concordia Seminary and sixteen Norwegians among the eighty-two students of the practical division, a total of thirty-six Norwegian students.²⁷ In 1874—75, there were thirteen Norwegian students in the practical division, eighteen in the theoretical. In 1875, twelve of these men were ordained.²⁸ The historians of the Norwegian Synod testify to the services rendered by the Missouri Synod to the Norwegian Synod for the theological training given its pastors.²⁹

The close relationship existing in the 1870's between the Norwegian and Missouri Synods was exemplified in the person of F. A. Schmidt. He was a Missouri Synod pastor who served at Luther College in Decorah.

Already in 1861 Walther had urged Schmidt to teach at the Norwegian school because of his ability to use the English language. He spoke in glowing terms of the Norwegians and pointed out to Schmidt that it would be advantageous for him to unite the Norwegians by a personal bond to the Missouri Synod, "mit ihnen an einem Joche ziehen."³⁰ Through the years Walther continued to encourage Schmidt along the same lines while he was at Decorah.³¹

In the period between 1872 and 1876 Schmidt served at Concordia Seminary as professor for the Norwegian Synod, only to be called in 1876 to the Norwegian Synod's theological school in Madison, Wis.³² Walther was not greatly in favor of moving Schmidt to Madison, but acknowledged that he would have to leave. "Thre Synode ist hier Herr u. wir nur ihre Knechte." However, if Schmidt is called away, Walther wrote, it would be as if he (Walther) were deprived of his hands. The whole school would suffer a great loss ("geradezu unersetzlichen Schaden"), since

²⁶ [A.] C[raemer], "Unsere Anstalt," *ibid.*, XXVIII (October 15, 1871), 13.

²⁷ [C.] W[alther], "Unsere Anstalten zur Ausbildung von Predigern," *ibid.*, XXIX (October 15, 1873), 205.

²⁸ "Aus der Norwegischen Synode," *ibid.*, XXXI (December 15, 1875), 187.

²⁹ Chr. Anderson, "Historical Sketch," *Grace for Grace*, indorsed H. Halvorsen's tribute in *Synodens Festskrift*, 1903, and quoted it partially.

S. C. Ylvisaker, "The Missouri Synod and the Norwegians," in *Ebenezer*, pp. 271, 272, quoted and endorsed the same article.

³⁰ Walther to Schmidt, August 9, 1861, MS, Concordia Historical Institute, Walther papers.

³¹ Walther to Schmidt, January 16, 1867, MS, Concordia Historical Institute, Walther papers.

See also Ludwig Fuerbringer, *Persons and Events: Reminiscences* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), pp. 149—152.

³² *Siebzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1878, p. 20.

Schmidt alone can instruct in English and Norwegian. A replacement would hardly be in a position to teach Homiletics, Encyklopaedia, Methodologie, and similar subjects. Schmidt was an excellent coeditor. He was needed to further scholarly theology. Walther did not oppose a Norwegian theological seminary, but he believed that Schmidt should not be used at a practical seminary.³³

To further the closer ties with the Norwegians, A. Craemer had learned the language and had interested himself in the Norwegian students.³⁴

In the period, then, between 1855 and 1876 close academic ties furthered fraternal ties between the Norwegian and the Missouri synods. The Norwegians were not the only Lutheran group interested in the higher schools of the Missouri Synod. The other groups, it is true, were German Lutherans, either potential rivals or possible allies. Doctrinal agreement, however, was a prime prerequisite for collaboration in educational work.³⁵ The Ohio Synod, the Wisconsin Synod, the Illinois Synod made separate overtures to the Missouri Synod, looking toward fraternal relations.

With the Wisconsin Synod

Doctrinal agreement with the Wisconsin Synod,³⁶ pulpit and altar fellowship, was formally acknowledged by the Missouri Synod in 1869 at its convention.³⁷ The crowning point of the agreement was to be the proposed collaboration between the educational insti-

³³ Walther to Koren, January 13, 1875, MS, Concordia Historical Institute, Walther papers. Compare Walther to Koren, April 8, 1875, MS, Concordia Historical Institute, Walther papers.

³⁴ F. Lochner, "Ehrengedaechtnis des seligen Herrn Friedrich August Craemer," *Der Lutheraner*, XLVIII (January 19, 1892), 12.

³⁵ See, e.g., Walther's report as president of Synod regarding the negotiations with various synods. *Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1869, pp. 26—30.

³⁶ The Wisconsin Synod had been organized in 1849. Joh. Ph. Koehler, *Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelischen Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin and andern Staaten*, Erster Band: *Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Gruendung und Sammlung der Wisconsin-Synode* (Milwaukee, Wis.: Northwestern Publishing House, 1925), p. 188.

In 1858 the Wisconsin Synod made the question of the training of pastors and teachers one of the chief items on the agenda of its annual convention. The Lutheran Seminary at Gettysburg was favored by these fathers of the Wisconsin Synod as the training school for their pastors. Koehler, pp. 233ff.

In 1859 the proposal was made that it acquire the Illinois State University property (which in 1874 was acquired for Concordia Seminary) in Springfield, Ill. *Ibid.*, pp. 251ff.

³⁷ *Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1869, pp. 87—90; *Der Lutheraner*, XXVI (October 1, 1869), 21.

A polemical article, testifying to the lack of fraternal relations in 1868 between the Wisconsin Synod and the Missouri Synod, was written by Lochner. Fr. Lochner,

tutions.³⁸ A Wisconsin Synod writer noted that the united synods would find it most desirable to co-operate with united forces in furthering Lutheran schools.³⁹ Walther believed that co-operation in academic affairs would bring about the amalgamation of the synods.⁴⁰ He was certain that the arrangement would help the Seminary in St. Louis to reach higher academic standards and scholarly accomplishments.⁴¹

It was proposed that the Missouri Synod should participate in the work of the Wisconsin Synod school in Watertown, Wis.: (1) by sending students to it who would be accepted under the same conditions as those from the Wisconsin Synod; (2) by electing a professor for this school and paying his salary, his election to be ratified by the Wisconsin Synod; and (3) by supporting the school with charitable donations (*Liebesgaben*). This school consisted of an English academy, a *Gymnasium*, and a college.⁴²

The Wisconsin Synod wished to participate in the program of the Missouri Synod theological seminary: (1) its students were to obtain their theological training at Concordia Seminary; (2) these students would pay the same fees for room and board as those of the Missouri Synod; (3) the Wisconsin Synod would pay their board; (4) a theological professor would be elected by the Wisconsin Synod, the election to be ratified by the Missouri Synod; (5) the Wisconsin Synod would support Concordia with donations (*Liebesgaben*).⁴³

"Einiges zur Wuerdigung der Synode von Wisconsin," *ibid.*, XXIV (January 15, 1868), 75—78; (February 1, 1868), 82—84.

The agreement was reached in Milwaukee, Wis., in October, 1868. W[alther], "Wieder eine Friedensbotschaft," *ibid.*, XXV (November 1, 1868), 37, 38.

See the notice changing the time of the convention to consider the agreement, *ibid.*, XXV (July 15, 1869), 175.

³⁸ *Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1869, p. 90: "Einleitend zu diesen Verhandlungen wurde bemerkt, dass diese beauftraget Betheiligung an den beiderseitigen Lehranstalten dem ganzen Werke der Vereinigung eigentlich erst die Krone aufsetzte; . . ."

³⁹ *Der Lutheraner*, XXV (August 1, 1869), 181, quoted the Wisconsin Synod *Gemeinde-Blatt* regarding the agreement. The comment of the Wisconsin Synod writer was also given: "Nichts ist wuensenswerther, als dass die lutherischen Synoden unseres Landes moeglichst mit vereinigten Kraeften zum Aufbau kirchlicher Anstalten zusammenwirken, und wo solch vereinigt Wirken moeglich gemacht ist, sollte es nicht abgewiesen werden."

⁴⁰ Walther to Fuerbringer, June 30, 1869, *Walthers Briefe*, II, 162, 163 (ed. Fuerbringer). Walther spoke of the academic arrangements "damit beide Synoden auf diesem Wege wahrhaft zusammenschmelzen."

⁴¹ Walther to St. Keyl, March 18, 1869, *Walthers Briefe*, II, 154 (ed. Fuerbringer).

⁴² *Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1869, pp. 90, 91.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

It would seem that an exchange of professors and of students and mutual support were involved in the collaboration; however, each Synod would be responsible for maintaining its own school, and the administration of each school was given the full power of supervision over teachers and pupils.⁴⁴

Fear was expressed within the Missouri Synod that supporting the preparatory school in Watertown, Wis., would bring harm to the school in Fort Wayne. However, after the Missouri Synod convention in 1869 had discussed the matter at some length, it concurred in the proposals. In a later session of this convention Synod itself proceeded to elect the Missouri Synod professor for the Wisconsin Synod school at Watertown. (It declared that it had the right to deviate from its usual procedure of electing professors, for it was the sovereign body. The Electoral College was given the right to nominate. It nominated Pastor F. W. Stellhorn of Saint Louis, Mo., and Director A. Crull of Milwaukee.) Stellhorn was elected. Provision was made that if Stellhorn were to decline the call, the Electoral College would choose the professor. The salary was set at \$1,000 a year.⁴⁵ Stellhorn accepted the call and reached Watertown on October 12, 1869; he began his teaching duties on the 18th. He was then hailed as the symbol of unity with the Wisconsin Synod.⁴⁶ Again education, crossing synodical lines, furthered intersynodical relationships. This process might have been furthered more actively by Stellhorn. He did not promote doctrinal solidarity, which was the keynote of the educational policies of the Missouri Synod.⁴⁷

The school itself had about seventy students in 1870. Of the twenty-five students in the *Gymnasium* more than half were from the Missouri Synod. The academy in Watertown was closely connected with the *Gymnasium*. The former featured modern languages, arithmetic, bookkeeping; the latter, the classics. The academy was partly vocational. The school year was divided into three terms.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 91, 92. "Unsere diesjaehrige Synodal-Versammlung," *Der Lutheraner*, XXVI (October 1, 1869), 21.

⁴⁶ Ibid., XXVI (November 15, 1869), 46.

Stellhorn served at Watertown until 1874, when he was called to Concordia College in Fort Wayne. *Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1874, p. 49.

⁴⁷ Walther to Ruhland, October 24, 1872, typewritten transcript of Walther's letters, bound, Concordia Historical Institute, Walther 300: "Stellhorn macht uns durch seinen fortwaehrenden Widerspruch gegen Strenge in altlutherischer Lehre und Praxis nicht geringe Noth."

Ibid., December 12, 1872, Walther wrote that Stellhorn had recanted his error in the doctrine of conversion.

The cost was \$120 a year, but those who were studying for the ministry paid only \$45 a year.⁴⁸ The *Gymnasium* had financial difficulties. At the close of the 1869—70 school year, the pastors and delegates at the convention of the Wisconsin Synod were solicited for funds to remove the deficit incurred for current expenses. The \$900 raised was almost sufficient for this purpose. The Wisconsin Synod voted \$4,500 annually for the school.⁴⁹

At this time the Wisconsin Synod had no teacher training institution. Within that Synod, therefore, there was a shortage of Lutheran schoolteachers, that is, men trained specially for that profession. In 1871 the understanding was reached with the Missouri Synod that young men from the Wisconsin Synod might be trained in the Missouri Synod Teachers Seminary at Addison, Ill.⁵⁰

Some misgivings seem to have arisen. The accusation was made by someone else that the rivalry of Watertown oppressed the Fort Wayne staff.⁵¹ Walther was constrained to defend himself in a long letter to Sihler, in which he declared he had been very active in furthering the welfare of the Fort Wayne school and had not even advised anyone to send his son to Watertown. Furthermore, Watertown was to supply Fort Wayne with students for the upper classes, since the reputation of the school was so high.⁵²

The agreement regarding the appointing of a theological professor to the faculty in St. Louis had not yet been carried out. At its convention in Manitowoc, Wis., in June, 1871, the Wisconsin Synod resolved to call Hoenecke to the position. The clergy of the Wisconsin Synod was so anxious to further this arrangement that it subscribed \$500 in personal donations for the salary of the professor-elect.⁵³ It was poverty which at first prevented the establish-

⁴⁸ F. W. Stellhorn, "Etwas von Watertown, Wis.," *Der Lutheraner*, XXVI (August 1, 1870), 182, 183.

See the notice in *ibid.*, XXVI (December 15, 1869), 63, 64, for a summary of the policies and operation of the institution. The notice is signed by August Ernst, inspector, and repeated in *Der Lutheraner*, XXVI (January 1, 1870), 72.

In the winter term of the school year 1870—71 there were fifty-one students in the preparatory school and forty in the academy. *Ibid.*, XXVII (February 1, 1871), 87.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XXVI (August 15, 1870), 190, quoting the *Gemeindeblatt* (no further reference given).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XXVII (July 1, 1871), 164.

⁵¹ Walther to Sihler, July 10, 1871, *Walthers Briefe*, ed. Fuerbringer, II, 218. Walther quoted (in English) excerpts from *Missionary and Lutheran* (July 6, 1871).

⁵² Walther to Sihler, July 10, 1871, *Walthers Briefe*, ed. Fuerbringer, II, 220, 221.

⁵³ *Der Lutheraner*, XXVII (July 1, 1871), 164.

ment of the Wisconsin Synod professorship; later it was the fact that Hoenecke repeatedly declined the call to St. Louis. Then the Wisconsin Synod turned to Germany and called Ernst. An eye ailment caused him to decline the call. Then Brohm, a teacher at the college in Watertown, was selected, but the call was not extended to him because of the increase of students at Watertown. It would be impossible, it was felt, as late as 1874, to pay the salary of this one professor in St. Louis.⁵⁴

Meanwhile the negotiations for the organization of the Synodical Conference were being carried on. In January 1871 a convention of representatives of the Ohio Synod, the Norwegian Synod, the Wisconsin Synod, and the Missouri Synod met in Chicago.⁵⁵ The Ohio Synod had given the impetus to this conference by adopting a resolution in its convention at Dayton, Ohio, in October 1870 to appoint a committee to deal with committees of like-minded Synods for joint efforts for the support of the necessary institutions.⁵⁶ The Chicago meeting went further. It drafted a constitution for the Synodical Conference, a federation of the Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Norwegian Synods. The proposed constitution declared that one aspect of its activities would be the training of pastors and teachers.⁵⁷ In one of the series of theses about church union presented to the Synodical Conference the thought was expressed that every Lutheran synod be concerned about conducting schools for the training of professional church workers.⁵⁸ The plans for the formation of the Synodical Conference were perfected at a meeting in Fort Wayne in November 1871, attended also by members of the Illinois Synod and the Minnesota Synod.⁵⁹ The constitution was adopted.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ *Sechzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1874, pp. 53, 54.

⁵⁵ [C.] W[alther], "Convention von Vertretern der Synoden von Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin und der norwegisch-lutherischen," *Der Lutheraner*, XXVII (February 1, 1871), 80.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: "... um mit ähnlichen Committeen anderer Synoden, die mit ihr dasselbe Bekenntniss fuehren in Lehre und Praxis, ueber die Thunlichkeit eines Zusammenwirkens in der Erhaltung der noethigen Lehranstalten zu conferiren. . . ."

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82: "Gegenstände der Thätigkeit: . . . Sache der Ausbildung von Predigern und Schullehrern. . . ."

⁵⁸ "Thesen ueber die Kirchengemeinschaft, der ev.-luth. Synodalconferenz zur Besprechung vorgelegt von W. Sihler," *Der Lutheraner*, XXIX (July 1, 1873), 150, 151.

⁵⁹ [C.] W[alther], "Synodalconferenz," *Der Lutheraner*, XXVIII (December 1, 1871), 36, 37.

See also *Denkschrift* enthaltend eine eingehende Darlegung der Gruende, weshalb die zur Synodal-Conferenz der ev.-luth. Kirche von Nord-Amerika zusammentretenden Synoden sich nicht an eine der hierzulande schon bestehenden lutherisch benannten Verbindungen von Synoden haben anschliessen koennen. Herausgegeben laut einmuetigen Beschlusses der, vom 14. bis 16. November,

In spite of the emphasis on schools during the preliminary negotiations, the first official meeting of the Synodical Conference (July 1872) touched on educational matters only lightly. In his presentation of the question, "What do we owe the English people of our country?" M. Loy of the Ohio Synod did say ministerial students should be trained to preach English.⁶¹

The Synodical Conference, therefore, did not establish any schools. The Wisconsin Synod continued to send students to the St. Louis Seminary. Fifteen attended there in 1874. Missouri Synod students continued to attend the Wisconsin Synod institution in Watertown, Wis. In 1874, about sixty of the one hundred students there were from congregations of the Missouri Synod.⁶²

It may be that the burden of supporting a large number of Missouri Synod students at Watertown caused some dissatisfaction. Even within the Northern District of the Missouri Synod (which included the congregation in Wisconsin) there were doubts about the equity of the arrangements with the Wisconsin Synod.⁶³

The large number of students from the Missouri Synod caused a housing problem at the institution in Watertown, and so the arrangements with the Missouri Synod were rethought and reformulated. The new arrangement looked toward complete independence of the schools at Watertown and St. Louis rather than any form of collaboration other than the attendance of students.⁶⁴ Presumably, though nothing was stated, the same conditions would govern the relations of the Wisconsin Synod with the Teachers Seminary in Addison. When misfortune struck and a portion of the building in Watertown burned, \$12,600 had to be appropriated to rebuild.⁶⁵

The patronage of Concordia Seminary by the Wisconsin Synod

A. D. 1871, zu Fort Wayne, Ind., abgehaltenen Convention von Gliedern der Synoden von Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois und Minnesota, sowie der norwegisch-lutherischen Synode. Columbus, Ohio: Druck von Schulze und Gassmann, 1871.

⁶⁰ "Constitution der evangelisch-lutherischen Synodal-Conferenz von Nord-Amerika," *Der Lutheraner*, XXVIII (April 15, 1872), 111.

⁶¹ A. Crull, "Erste officiële Versammlung der 'Evang.-Lutherischen Synodal-Conferenz von Nord-America,'" *ibid.*, XXVIII (August 1, 1872), 161, 162: "... in der Predigererziehung dafür Sorge zu tragen, dass unsere Seminaristen, wo immer thunlich, befähigt werden, auch englisch zu predigen."

Erste Versammlung der Synodal-Conferenz, 1872, p. 19.

⁶² *Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1874, p. 55.

⁶³ *Verhandlungen der zwanzigsten Jahresversammlung des Noerdlichen Districts*, 1874, pp. 72, 73.

⁶⁴ "Modificirung der Vereinbarung der Synode von Missouri u. s. w. mit der Wisconsin-Synode betreffs Betheiligung beider Synoden an deren Lehranstalten," *Sechzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1874, pp. 56, 57.

⁶⁵ *Der Lutheraner*, XXXI (May 15, 1875), 79.

may be gauged from the enrollment from time to time. In 1869—70 seven of 147 students were from the Wisconsin Synod.⁶⁶ In 1871 six Wisconsin Synod students attended Concordia Seminary.⁶⁷ Fifteen Wisconsin Synod students were enrolled there in 1873—74; ten in the theoretical department, four in the practical, plus one more in the preseminary department.⁶⁸

With the Minnesota Synod

Closely allied with the Wisconsin Synod was the Minnesota Synod. In 1870 the question of the union of these two Synods was discussed thoroughly. Negotiations had been opened by the Wisconsin Synod.⁶⁹ In 1871 the Wisconsin Synod acknowledged the Minnesota Synod as an orthodox church body.⁷⁰ The Minnesota Synod reciprocated the sentiment and resolved to avail itself of the educational facilities at Watertown. This school, therefore, was accepted officially by three Lutheran bodies — the Wisconsin Synod, which controlled it, the Missouri Synod, and the Minnesota Synod. The Minnesota Synod, too, would provide an instructor for the institution.⁷¹ The orthodoxy of the Minnesota Synod was investigated and acknowledged also by the Missouri Synod.⁷² Delegates

⁶⁶ [A.] C[raemer], "Unsere theologische Anstalt," *ibid.*, XXVII (November 1, 1870), 39.

⁶⁷ [A.] C[raemer], "Unsere Anstalt," *ibid.*, XXVIII (October 15, 1871), 13.

⁶⁸ [C.] W[alther], "Unsere Anstalten zur Ausbildung von Predigern," *ibid.*, XXIX (October 15, 1873), 205.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, XXVI (August 15, 1870), 190 quoting the Wisconsin Synod *Gemeindeblatt* (no further reference given).

Walther had been invited already in 1869 to attend a pastors' conference at which the Minnesota Synod would be represented. Walther to Lindemann, June 12, 1869, *Walthers Briefe*, ed. Fuerbringer, II, 161. Walther's disappointment at the outcome of this conference is evident almost two years later in a letter to Sieker, May 23, 1871. *Ibid.*, II, 215—217.

⁷⁰ Report of Wunder and Kuehle to Walther as President of the Missouri Synod regarding the Wisconsin Synod convention, *Der Lutheraner*, XXVII (July 1, 1871), 164.

Ibid., XXVIII (January 1, 1872), 54, 55, carried a notice from the *Gemeindeblatt* about a "Friedens-Conferenz" to be held in St. Paul, Minn., on January 10, 1872. The topic for discussion was: "Wie sollen die Gemeinden und Pastoren von zwei bekenntnisstreuen Synoden, auf ein und demselben Gebiete, sich gegen einander noch Gottes Wort verhalten?"

Walther to Fuerbringer, December 10, 1870, *Walthers Briefe*, ed. Fuerbringer, II, 210.

Pastors of the Missouri Synod were urged to attend this conference. *Der Lutheraner*, XXVIII (January 1, 1872), 55.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, XXVII (July 1, 1871), 164.

⁷² H. Fick and E. A. Brauer, "Bericht ueber das mit der ehrwuerdigen Synode von Minnesota abgehaltene Colloquium," *ibid.*, XVIII (July 1, 1872), 149, 150.

of the Minnesota Synod attended the first official session of the Synodical Conference.⁷³ No record of how many young men from the Minnesota Synod attended Concordia Seminary is at hand. However, with the establishment of fraternal relationships the utilization of educational facilities, especially of its professional schools, would be encouraged by the Missouri Synod. In 1873 one student from the Minnesota Synod was enrolled in the theoretical division of Concordia Seminary; and another in the preseminary division.⁷⁴

With the Illinois Synod

The Illinois Synod, too, had students enrolled in the schools of the Missouri Synod. Already in 1869 a colloquium had been held with the Illinois Synod in order to establish fraternal relations.⁷⁵ Some objection was found to establishing such relationships and further negotiations were called for,⁷⁶ which resulted in an agreement of altar and pulpit fellowship.⁷⁷ Two students at St. Louis in 1870—71, hailed from congregations of the Illinois Synod.⁷⁸ One of them was among the thirty-seven graduates in June 1871. In the following school year (1871—72) there were four students at Concordia from the Illinois Synod, one in the practical division and three in the preseminary department.⁷⁹ During the 1873—74

⁷³ [A.] C[ull], "Erste officiële Versammlung der 'Evang.-Lutherischen Synodal-Conferenz von Nord-America,'" *ibid.*, XVIII (August 1, 1872, 161. These delegates were Pastors J. H. Sieker and A. Kuhn, and Mr. J. Ch. Schuetz.

⁷⁴ [C.] W[alther], "Unsere Anstalten zur Ausbildung von Predigern," *ibid.*, XXIX (October 15, 1873), 205.

⁷⁵ A. Craemer, "Colloquium mit Gliedern der Synode von Illinois u. a. Staaten," *ibid.*, XXV (August 15, 1869), 192.

Walther to Lindemann, June 12, 1869, *Walthers Briefe*, ed. Fuerbringer, II, 161, wrote of the request of the Illinois Synod for a conference.

⁷⁶ [A.] C[raemer], "Unsere diesjährige Synodal-Versammlung," *Der Lutheraner*, XXVI (October 1, 1869), 21.

Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht, 1869, p. 29, where Walther cited the letter from the officers of the Illinois Synod in his "Praesidial-Bericht," "Vereinbarung mit der Synode von Illinois u. a. St.," *ibid.*, p. 95.

⁷⁷ "Die westliche Districtssynode," *Der Lutheraner*, XXVI (July 15, 1870), 172, 173.

15. *Bericht des westlichen Districts*, 1870, pp. 84, 85.

15. *Bericht des mittleren Districts*, 1870, pp. 49, 50.

15. *Bericht des oestlichen Districts*, 1870, pp. 69, 70.

Protocoll der vierten Versammlung der Ev. Luth. Synode von Illinois und andern Staaten, 1870 (St. Louis, Mo.: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1870), pp. 9, 14, 15, 16, 17 (the official document of agreement), 18.

⁷⁸ [A.] C[raemer], "Unsere theologische Anstalt," *Der Lutheraner*, XXVII (November 1, 1870), 39.

⁷⁹ [A.] C[raemer], "Unsere Anstalt," *ibid.*, XXVIII (October 15, 1871), 13.

school year three students from the Illinois Synod were enrolled in the practical division of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, four in the preseminary department.⁸⁰ The closer bonds between "Missouri" and "Illinois" were evident in the increased attendance at Concordia.

With the Tennessee Synod

Echoes of earlier relationships of a similar nature appear in the brief report in 1873—74, that "2 Englische aus der Tennessee-Synode" were enrolled at Concordia in the practical division.⁸¹ Further information seems to be lacking.

With the Ohio Synod

The most extensive negotiations and plans for synodical union and for rearranging the educational systems of both synods were made by the Missouri Synod with the Ohio Synod. Already in 1867 negotiations were opened by the Ohio Synod,⁸² and the next year proposals toward a union were made.⁸³ Full agreement and fraternal relations were not established, however, until 1870, prior to the negotiations leading to the formation of the Synodical Conference.⁸⁴

At the preliminary meeting in Chicago (January 11, 1871) a proposal regarding the educational institutions of the Ohio Synod and the Missouri Synod was made.⁸⁵ This proposal is significant,

⁸⁰ [C.] W[alther], "Unsere Anstalten zur Ausbildung von Predigern," *ibid.*, XXIX (October 15, 1873), 205.

⁸¹ [C.] W[alther], "Unsere Anstalten zur Ausbildung von Predigern," *ibid.*, XXIX (October 15, 1873), 205.

⁸² *Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1869, pp. 26—28, contained Walther's report as President of Synod, citing in full the letter of the committee of the Ohio Synod sent in November 1869.

Walther to Fuerbringer, November 28, 1867, *Walthers Briefe*, ed. Fuerbringer, II, 118.

⁸³ See the *Lutheran Standard* (October 15, 1868) as quoted in German, translation by C[raemer], in *Der Lutheraner*, XXV (November 1, 1863), 38.

Ibid., XXIV (August 1, 1868), 188, reproduced the document of agreement reached at Columbus, Ohio, March 4—6, 1868.

14. *Bericht des mittleren Districts*, 1868, pp. 26—33.

⁸⁴ In 1869 the Missouri Synod declined to declare fellowship with the Ohio Synod but expressed the wish that an agreement would soon be reached. *Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1869, pp. 92—95; *Der Lutheraner*, XXVI (October 1, 1869), 21.

The action of the Eastern District of the Ohio Synod was reported in *ibid.*, XXVII (September 15, 1870), 11.

The Ohio Synod complied with the conditions of the Missouri Synod at its convention in Dayton, October 5—12, 1870. See *Fuenfzehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1872, pp. 25, 26. 95.

⁸⁵ [C.] W[alther], "Convention von Vertretern der Synoden von Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin and der norwegisch-lutherischen," *Der Lutheraner*, XXVII (February 1, 1871), 80, 81.

not because it materialized but because it showed the realization that fraternal relationships between church bodies depended in no small degree on close academic relationships. The suggestion was made that the theological seminary of the Ohio Synod be transferred to St. Louis, with one professor of theology to lecture in English. The suggestion was also made that the Ohio Synod move its college to Pittsburgh. The Eastern District of the Missouri Synod would participate in supporting the school and possibly in the appointing of the professor to be called by the Missouri Synod as well as in furnishing his salary.⁸⁶

Misgivings regarding such an arrangement developed within the Ohio Synod with a demand that the congregations of that Synod be heard in the matter.⁸⁷ The proposal was not listed among the items of business for the preliminary meeting of the Synodical Conference in November, 1871, in Fort Wayne.⁸⁸ Neither the Missouri Synod nor the Ohio Synod pressed the amalgamation of its theological seminaries independently or within the Synodical Conference. In February 1873 the Ohio Synod decided to relocate its seminary in the East section of Columbus, Ohio,⁸⁹ thus precluding the possibility of amalgamation. The proposals made in 1876 in the Synodical Conference convention likewise did not materialize.

The problem of training teachers for its parochial schools, however, concerned the Ohio Synod. In 1874 the president of that Synod, M. Loy, addressed a question to the Missouri Synod, asking under what conditions Ohio Synod students would be admitted to the teacher-training institution at Addison, Ill. The Missouri Synod declared itself willing to give those students equal consideration with its own.⁹⁰ How many students attended in subsequent years is not known. At any rate, the willingness to share the educational facilities with a sister synod was there. Educational ties could be important in maintaining fraternal relations.

⁸⁶ Ibid., XXVII (February 1, 1871), p. 82.

⁸⁷ Ibid., XXVII (August 1, 1871), 181.

⁸⁸ The notice of the meeting stressed that Part A would be discussed. Part B pertained to the proposal regarding the schools. Ibid., XXVII (October 15, 1871), 15, 16.

⁸⁹ Ibid., XXIX (March 15, 1873), 93.

⁹⁰ *Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht*, 1874, pp. 46, 47: "... dass den Schuelern der Ohio-Synode dieselbe Verguenstigung zu Theil werden soll, wie sie bereits den Schuelern der ehrw. Wisconsin-Synode und anderer Schwester-Synoden zu Theil wird, naemlich die Verguenstigung, dass sie den Schuelern unserer Synode gleich-zuhalten sind." The entire quotation was italicized in the original.

Der Lutheraner, XXX (November 1, 1874), 165.

Another attempt to work together with other synods can be seen from efforts to collaborate in the production of textbooks for Lutheran elementary schools. An English primer prepared by Lange was examined by a committee of the Synodical Conference and approved. It was recommended by that group that it be produced. An English reader was to be approved by the faculty of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis as to its theological content; from the pedagogical point of view the faculty at Watertown was to examine and sanction it. The faculty of the Columbus theological seminary was to prepare an English translation of a Bible History produced in St. Louis.⁹¹

Thus various ways were tried to supply the needs and to tie the Lutherans together by means of educational agencies. The initial approach of the Norwegians was an extremely important step toward drawing the Missouri Synod closer to it and to other Lutheran bodies. The approach by the Wisconsin Synod, the dealings with the Minnesota Synod and the Illinois Synod, and even negotiations with the Ohio Synod looked to the expansion and strengthening of the Missouri Synod schools and seminaries. Walther regarded it as the dawning of a new academic day that had brilliant prospects for the future.⁹² The negotiations, too, leading to the union of various Lutheran Synods and the formation of the Synodical Conference indicate that one avenue to church unity may be found through the exchange and sharing of academic advantages. Finally, the flurry of negotiations with other Lutheran bodies, especially in the five-year period between 1867 and 1872, shows that the Missouri Synod was beginning to emerge from its sheltered existence, at least over against other Lutheran bodies.

⁹¹ "Vierte Versammlung der Synodalconferenz," *Der Lutheraner*, XXXI (September 1, 1875), 134.

Regarding the Bible History see fn. 14. *Bericht des Westlichen Districts*, pp. 48, 49.

⁹² Walther to St. Keyl, March 18, 1869, *Walthers Briefe*, ed. Fuerbringer, II, 154: "Die Wisconsiner haben auch bereits Schritte in betreff ihres Watertowner Seminars (Professor und Studenten) getan. Sind das nicht schoene Aussichten? Kommt nun noch, wie projektiert ist, ein tuechtiger norwegischer Professor, so kann sich unsere 'University' schon sehen lassen, namentlich wenn wir alten, abgenutzten, altfraenkischen Professors-Nothelfer beseitigt sind. Die 'root'-Arbeit haben wir getan; nun mag die fernere Arbeit von denen geschehen, die nicht bloss Handarbeiter und Tagelohner sind wie wir, vor allem ich, sondern die gelernte Agrikulturisten und Hortikulturisten sind."

The Military Department at Concordia College Fort Wayne, Ind., 1906—1954

By WALTER HERRLING, PH. D.

"Fall in!" "Forward March!" "Sound Off!" When these shouts were barked in the piercing staccato voices of college sophomores in September 1906, the placid neighborhood on the Maumee and on Washington Blvd., in Fort Wayne, was astounded. Little did these good people realize that their lives would never again be exactly the same!

The military department at Concordia College, Fort Wayne, had its formal beginning in September 1906 and ended officially in June 1954, when the last high school class of Concordia College was graduated. For the last few years military drill was conducted under the control of the Lutheran High School in Fort Wayne. The military department at Concordia College remains as a unique institution in the history of ministerial training in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. There was nothing like it at any of the other preparatory schools of Synod, at any time, although official endeavors were made to introduce military drill in other schools.¹

This is a good time for the study of the military department's history, and that for several reasons. Historically it is a good time,

¹ Serious, very serious attempts were made to introduce military drill in one form or another at St. John's College, Winfield, Kans., before 1916, during the college days of the present writer; he has snapshots of his company lined up in military precision; wands were used for guns. A bronzed captain of the local National Guard was the instructor (he was extremely sunburnt since at all times he refused to wear a hat).

A more serious attempt was made to introduce military drill at St. Paul's College, Concordia, Mo. In September of 1920 (the writer arrived there at the time to organize the first Septima at St. Paul's) stacks of huge boxes filled with army rifles were stored in the old hospital building. These rifles, it seems, were never unpacked. They indicate, however, that plans to introduce drill had advanced to the point that the Government had sent the equipment.

Earlier attempts were made to introduce military training at Fort Wayne. "The students were given military drill immediately after coming here in 1861, under the direction of a Captain Johnson, who had served in the Norwegian Army. There were no uniforms, no guns; in fact, no equipment of any kind. Yet drill was conducted with spirit, as Captain Johnson headed his 'army,' singing Norwegian martial airs in his strong voice as they marched along." (Schnedler, Wilfred, "Military Training," *Concordian*, 1939, p. 19.) Again: "And finally, there was military drill. A Captain Tyler had charge in the seventies. Drill was held once a week, and the captain also taught penmanship once a week. The 'Cadets' then had wooden guns, but no uniforms. Yet, we are told, an annual inspection by a government official was held. The boys paid an annual military fee of \$5.00 and a separate athletic fee of \$2.00." (*Ibid.*, p. 25.)

All of this is a far cry from a military department, but alumni of early days insisted that a serious attempt was certainly in the mind of the leaders at that time.

What was done at other Concordias along this line?

since Concordia College will close its doors in June 1957.² Moreover, the sources are still available for reference.³

Luecke's Sponsorship

The establishment of the military department at Concordia College was not a simple matter. Implications and ramifications, unexpected and to a large degree unforeseeable, arose from everywhere and nowhere. Synodical officials, pastors of the Concordia constituency, students and parents and laymen expressed their apprehensions by whichever method seemed most expedient for the moment. All opposition had to be placated.



Martin L. Luecke

The establishment of military training at Fort Wayne was due primarily to President Martin L. Luecke; he was backed by Senator Albert J. Beveridge, one of Indiana's all-time great senators.⁴ Senator Beveridge was helpful also in bringing to Concordia commandants desired by the college. For instance, in the crisis that developed in the fall of 1906 (when the first commandant was removed for some time) Senator Beveridge was unable to see President Theodore Roosevelt because of the

² It can be said safely that Concordia College has a continued life from 1839, when instruction started, although it had no name at the time, although it had no pupils of college age, and although for a short time its very being was so tenuous that there were few signs of life. The other schools, three in number, on the campus in Fort Wayne before 1861 had no connection at all with the entity of Concordia College.

³ The principal primary sources used at this time are the following:

Minutes of faculty and board meetings. Minutes of faculty meetings are available from 1856, while Concordia College was still in St. Louis, to the present (very minor lapses).

President's Files. The files of the president of Concordia College consist of numerous documents, all of which were made available by the gracious permission of President Herbert G. Bredemeier. This is an invaluable source for the early phases of the history. The oldest document is dated March 28, 1906, and the last, April 28, 1936. All early files in the military office have vanished. The president's files will be cited as "Pres. files" hereafter.

Class annuals, usually called the *Concordian*, from 1915 to the present.

Der Concordianer, official publication of the Alumni Association, issued from 1908 to 1924. This is also an invaluable source on many matters pertaining to the department, since many articles were written by members of the faculty, frequently by request of the faculty.

Maroon and White, student publication from 1926 to the present.

College museum, with hundreds of pictures, old posters, etc., now disbanded with materials at Concordia Senior College and Concordia Historical Institute.

Clippings of newspaper stories from 1928 to the present.

Living persons have been the source of some of the most interesting information in conversations, by phone, and letter.

⁴ There are five letters and a telegram from Senator Beveridge in the president's

President's absence from Washington.⁵ It must be added, however, that the official correspondence in the files shows that many others assisted in meeting perplexing problems as they arose.

The circumstances surrounding the actual inception of the department were more or less accidental. Three Indiana schools were privileged to have military departments conducted by the U. S. Army. The enrollment at one of these schools dropped beneath the minimum requirements, and thus in 1906 there was a vacancy in the assigned quota for Indiana. Officials of Concordia, especially President Luecke, leaped into action, and the result was, after much negotiating, that Concordia succeeded in gaining the third unit allotted to Indiana.⁶

Propaganda was used in favor of establishing the new department, and the arguments in favor of the arrangement were developed continuously as the battle waxed hotter in the course of years. The clearest official statement on this matter was a three-page circular, 9 by 13 inches, with the title "Wie und warum sollen die Zoeglinge des Concordia College zu Fort Wayne, Ind., nun auch militärisch geschult werden"; it was issued "im Namen des Lehrerkollegiums und der Aufsichtsbehoerde beantwortet von L. D."⁷

As might be anticipated, student reaction was mixed, and much was being said about lost liberties, lost free time, and loss of cherished activities. An opinion by a student writer in 1915 expressed it in this manner: "The student body as a whole was inclined to oppose the new system, because a small portion of the

files. The oldest is dated November 7, 1906, and the most recent, May 5, 1910. His eagerness to assist is revealed in such quotations as the following: "Whatever I can do at your request, always gives me a pleasure" (letter to President Luecke, February 16, 1909), and "I shall be glad to do anything I can to assist in accomplishing what you desire when the time comes for action" (letter to President Luecke, March 26, 1910).

⁵ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by Senator Beveridge, November 7, 1906.

⁶ In the minutes of the faculty for 1906 there are only nine meetings in which the discussion of military matters were recorded, from the meetings in March 26, 1906, to November 5, 1906. It is very evident from this that military matters did not dominate the meetings as far as subject matter and time are concerned. There were time-consuming debates on other matters, especially on discipline cases.

⁷ Pres. files. Unfortunately this statement by Prof. Louis Dorn bears no date. It bristles with polemical parlance and meets objections that had been raised: (1) Will military drill play too large a role at Concordia? (2) Will students be tempted to abandon their studies for the ministry and take up a military career instead? (3) Will it arouse ill will among our constituents? (4) Will it cost more for the parents? (5) All objections will disappear once the department is functioning smoothly.

recreation period was taken and devoted to military drill.”⁸ On the whole, there was no group opposition expressed in any way.⁹ Eventually opposition by students, such as there was, became less articulate. There were always some students, especially those who entered with advanced standing, who resented drill and would have no part of it, if at all possible. By 1925 student opinion was crystallized in a voluntary petition, signed by 227 students, in favor of drill.¹⁰ They pleaded for retention of the military department for two reasons: First, its cessation “would necessitate the institution of some form of compulsory physical training”; and, second, “proper instructors and equipment for physical training can be provided only at great expense. . . .” These students were not militaristically minded by any means; today some of them are university professors, U. S. chaplains, prominent clergymen from coast to coast. It may be added here that none of the graduates developed into “war lords.” A check of the names of the student commanders, listed later, bears the names of outstanding leaders who are characterized by mildness and temperance.

Opposition to the military department was voiced at various times and did not really subside until the late twenties. Some of the higher officials of the Missouri Synod had their serious misgivings at the start.¹¹ But the main stream of objections came from the clergy and other leaders. All who found fault with Concordia College for any reason whatsoever found here a concrete rallying point. All of this resentment undoubtedly proved beneficial to the college in the long run, for it placed the officials of Concordia constantly on the alert. Universal approval might have led to stagnation.

The defensive measures against this opposition used by the officials consisted of every possible means of communication available in that day. Faculty, alumni, students, all entered the fray. The faculty resolved to broadcast its first informative statement in

⁸ *Concordian*, 1915, p. 47.

⁹ A special meeting of the faculty was called in January 1907 to deal with a case that might have some bearing on the subject (Faculty Minutes, January 19, 1907, p. 109). A boy from a dismissed company ran through the ranks of a company that was still at attention. The voluminous minutes do not make it very clear whether this was disdain for the military department, displeasure aimed at the commander of the company still at attention, or sheer insubordination. The offender was expelled.

¹⁰ Pres. files. Student petition, 1925.

¹¹ Faculty minutes, March 26, 1906, p. 94.

May 1906.¹² This may have been a leaflet written by Prof. August Crull.¹³ On April 3, 1907, the *Rundschau* carried a long story by Professor Crull, in which many phases of the new arrangement are discussed in detail.¹⁴ Paul L. Dannenfeldt also supported the cause in a two-page article in *Der Concordianer* in 1913/1914.¹⁵

Opposition became more or less inactive for some years, it seems, but then suddenly flared forth with special vehemence in the years immediately after World War I. The opening salvo was fired when the Synodical Survey Committee recommended that "military drill must be independent of the Government."¹⁶ In the reaction to this statement a full explanation of the U. S. Government action in establishing these departments at colleges in the country was made. Three reasons were mentioned: (1) to create a spirit of genuine patriotism; (2) to remove prejudice regarding military matters; (3) to train men for possible national emergency. The argumentation next proceeded to explain that the commandant must conform to all rules and regulations of the college; he had no right to interfere in the administration of the school in any manner at all, and no officer had ever attempted to interfere at Concordia. The next step was to explain what the Government did, viz.: (1) It paid the commandant's salary; (2) it provided full military equipment; (3) it furnished uniforms according to new regulations (this, by the way, was an anticipation that never became a reality). Then came the forceful and clinching statement: "AND WHAT DOES THE GOVERNMENT EXPECT OF US FOR ALL THIS? Nothing! We repeat it, Nothing whatever." The faculty drafted a round-robin letter for all pastors in which a detailed defense of the department was made,¹⁷ and a memorial was drafted for the next

¹² Faculty minutes, May 22, 1906, p. 96.

¹³ Pres. files. "Die militärische Schulung im Concordia College zu Fort Wayne, Ind.," printed folder of about 5 by 7 inches and 4 pages, signed "A. C." It offers replies to inquiries, explains the terms of the agreement made with the U. S. Government, and the cites advantages for Concordia College. Another mimeographed sheet is entitled "Regulativ in Sachen der militärischen Einrichtung" and consists of two pages. It explains how disciplinary cases were to be handled.

¹⁴ Pres. files. "Die militärische Schulung im Concordia College zu Fort Wayne, Ind."

¹⁵ *Der Concordianer*, No. 5, pp. 6 f., "The Benefits Derived from Military Tactics and Training at Our Alma Mater," signed "P. L. D." He lists the following points: (1) It lays the foundation for self-culture; (2) It develops character (neatness, cleanliness, promptness, etc.); (3) It develops self-respect and self-reliance; (4) It provides many advantages for building healthy bodies.

¹⁶ *Der Concordianer*, 1919/1920, No. 12, pp. 3f.

¹⁷ Pres. files. Letters to pastors.

synodical convention.¹⁸ The last formal statement in defense of the department was drafted for the convention of 1926 in reply to the last memorial ever to be presented to kill the department.¹⁹

It is interesting to note how alumni cheerfully, and with blood in their eyes, rallied to the defense of Concordia. In 1917 Frank Lankenau, on stationery of the *Lutheran Pioneer*, a missionary monthly, wrote encouraging words, "By all means, never give up your military department." Then he hastened to add that his doctor had told him that military drill at Concordia during



Captain Ivers W.
Leonard
First Commandant

his college days contributed to his health.²⁰ Another alumnus, Mr. Theo. H. Lamprecht, a great benefactor of Concordia, in 1920 asked for particulars and wished to know how he might be able to help the cause.²¹ And in 1926, Dr. Eric Crull, son of Professor Crull, founder of the Irene Byron Sanatorium and house physician for Concordia at the time, wrote: "I know of nothing during my incumbency of my position as house physician, extending over twenty-five years, which has impressed itself more thoroughly as being of direct value to the physical condition of the boys than the military department."²² The health argument was stressed before this, e.g., when it was reported that the college doctor had testified that in the first year of military drill a saving of 50% had been made in medical expenses alone.²³

Smoothly Functioning

A very important point that would be of great significance in a number of ways was the relationship of the military department to the rest of the school or, more specifically, the official position of the commandant. The first mention of the military department in a faculty meeting dealt with this question.²⁴ And in the next meeting, when Captain Leonard was present, this

¹⁸ *Der Concordianer*, 1919/1920, No. 12, p. 3.

¹⁹ Pres. files. Statement for delegate convention of 1926. This was in reply to a memorial on p. 94 of the *Book of Memorials*.

²⁰ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by Dr. Frank Lankenau, June 17, 1917.

²¹ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by Mr. Theo. H. Lamprecht, March 29, 1920.

²² Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by Dr. Eric Crull, January 18, 1926.

²³ *Der Concordianer*, 1919/1920, No. 12, p. 4.

²⁴ Faculty meeting, March 26, 1906, p. 94.

again was the topic of discussion.²⁵ The Government, from the beginning, considered him a member of the faculty with the title of "Professor of Military Science and Tactics," and this appeared abbreviated as his title on all official documents and mail addressed to him. However, throughout the department's entire history, the commandant did not attend regular faculty meetings, but appeared only when told that military matters were up for consideration, such as, promotions, new uniforms, etc. It may be noted that the Government even went out of its way on occasion to give the college authorities a choice in selecting new commandants.²⁶

Some of the commandants served Concordia beyond the performance of their military duties. It seems that the first four commandants were expected to do this. Captain Leonard expressed the desire to limit his activities, at least for the first year, to military matters and that at a later time he might deliver "historical lectures or even do some mathematical work."²⁷ Lieutenant C. E. Reese served in the capacity of treasurer or business manager for some time.²⁸ In 1913 a request was turned down that Lieutenant Purcell "accept the position of college quartermaster," whatever that may have implied.²⁹ Captain Byroade served as athletic coach in the school year of 1915/1916.³⁰

The question may be asked, Did the Government implicitly trust the college with thousands upon thousands of dollars worth of equipment? It seems that in the early years a bond was posted to insure the safety of the Government's property. The first mention of such a bond is in 1912, when the old bond had expired and a new bond was required.³¹ In February 1919 the college authorities were informed that the bond had been can-

²⁵ Faculty minutes, May 4, 1906, p. 93, [sic].

²⁶ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by A. F. Ladd, December 2, 1912. Mr. Ladd submitted two names from which the college could make a choice. Neither ever served here, however.

²⁷ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by Captain Leonard, March 5, 1906.

²⁸ Notice in *Der Concordianer*, 1912/1913, No. 1, p. 8: "Alle Beiträge und sonstige Geldsendungen, sowie geschäftliche Briefe, sind zu richten an Capt. C. E. Reese."

²⁹ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by A. F. Ladd, August 1, 1913.

³⁰ *Concordian*, 1916, p. 53.

³¹ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by N. F. Ramsey, Capt. Ord. Dept., U. S. A., October 24, 1912, in which he desired to have an explanation why the new bond was signed "Concordia College" whereas the old bond had carried the following signature: "Concordia College of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States." Another letter by the same party refers to this matter, dated November 11, 1912.

celed, "thereby relieving you from further responsibility under this bond."³² And that seems to have been the end of bonds.

On several occasions shortages appeared when the boys had returned in September. These were evidently due to thefts during the summer vacation involving relatively small sums.³³ Aside from these cases no equipment had to be settled for with cash payments. This is an excellent record in view of the length of time involved and the great value of all Government property entrusted to the school.

Another question that is frequently asked is this: Did the Government ever plan changes in the military department or suggest any additional services which might prove undesirable? The thought of changing the status of the unit from 55C to a Reserve Officers Training Corps unit was broached at various times; in 1919 it was recommended by an inspecting officer in his report accompanied by these words of glowing praise: "There is no other school in this district which will give more hearty and unqualified support to an R. O. T. C. unit than Concordia College."³⁴

In September 1918, shortly before World War I came to an end, an offer was made to establish a Students Army Training Corps at Concordia. This offer was declined because "Concordia College is a 'Divinity School' in its entirety."³⁵ A reply was sent by another Government official in which the writer agreed with the argument presented and then added ominously: "The establishment of a unit would never have been authorized had it not been assumed that you desired a unit. . . . Orders have been issued counteracting the establishing of the unit of the Students Army Training Corps."³⁶ Apparently the orders had been issued without the permission of Concordia authorities.³⁷

The last communication regarding this matter is dated October 8, 1918, and with that the matter disappeared entirely.

³² Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by R. M. Broadwell, February 27, 1919. This bond was for \$7,845.52.

³³ Pres. files. Sums involved were \$125.67; \$84.17; \$46.16.

³⁴ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by James F. McKinley, Col. Inf. U. S. A. District Inspector, December 31, 1919.

³⁵ Pres. files. Letter by President Luecke to Col. Robert I. Rees, September 5, 1918.

³⁶ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by Ralph Barton Perry, Ex. Sec., Committee on Education and Special Training.

³⁷ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by Stanley Howland, Capt. Adj. General's Dept., Ass't to Dept. Adj., October 8, 1918.

In 1936 an endeavor was made by the War Department to establish a training school for about 200 candidate chaplains at Concordia.³⁸ This plan evidently was never pursued beyond this exploratory stage.

Commandants

The commandants played a key role in the history of the military department at Concordia. The college was extremely fortunate in receiving such a man as Captain Ivers W. Leonard as its first commandant, for the success or failure hinged literally upon the personality and work of this man. Captain Leonard was a gentleman with rare sympathy and understanding, on one hand a soldier with a keen grasp of military discipline and order, but on the other hand a kindly leader driven to nurture all that represented the best in the young men entrusted to his care. Everybody who knew and served under him sings his praises. The alumni of that day tell about the little Filipino who followed the captain about on the campus wherever he went! Captain Leonard loved Concordia, and this was evidenced particularly by his continued interest in the school after his transfer to other areas of activity. Up to the time of his death he carried on an extensive correspondence with President Luecke.

The manner in which Captain Leonard was selected for this position shows how the Army co-operated with the college authorities. Major F. H. French, Inspector General at Headquarters, Northern Division at St. Louis, Mo., related in a long handwritten letter to President Luecke that the college faculty and board should be encouraged to prevail upon Captain Leonard to come here.³⁹ Major French added that he had written to Captain Leonard and that the captain had expressed his deep interest in the new appointment and even his willingness to come. Captain Leonard's character is revealed in a letter sent on March 5, 1906, from Fort Russell, Wyo., in which he referred to Fort Wayne as "my old home" and concluded as follows, "Most respectfully, Your obedient servant, Ivers W. Leonard, Capt. VIth Infantry."⁴⁰

Captain Leonard assumed his duties here in September 1906, but no sooner had he begun his work than all the well-laid plans

³⁸ Pres. files. Letter to President Wm. C. Burhop by Earl D. Weed, Chaplain, Lt. Col., U. S. A.; April 28, 1936.

³⁹ Pres. files. Letter by Major F. H. French, March 28, 1906.

⁴⁰ Pres. files. Letter by Capt. Leonard, March 5, 1906. This is the earliest letter regarding military matters on file in the President's files.

seemed to be doomed. A telegram, dated September 30, 1906, from McCain, Military Secretary, ordered Captain Leonard to rejoin his regiment at once in Cuba.⁴¹ The terrifying message read, "Military necessity requires Captain Leonard accompany his regiment to Cuba." His absence continued for several months. In the meanwhile Concordia was again extremely fortunate since three local men who had attended Culver Military Academy providentially were found to continue the work during Captain Leonard's brief Army service abroad.⁴² Captain Leonard continued most successfully in the most trying years until Special Order No. 47, February 26, 1910, informed him that he would be relieved of his duties here.⁴³ Thus his services at Concordia were terminated in June 1910. He later became a colonel and is best remembered by that title. In 1917 efforts were made to bring him out of retirement to help Concordia out during the period when no Government man was in service here; but these efforts were fruitless. In 1929 he became seriously ill and was flown in an air ambulance from Charleston, Md., to Scranton, Pa., the first person ever to be transferred from an Army hospital to another Army hospital by air ambulance.⁴⁴ He died soon afterwards.

Concordia's second commandant was First Lieutenant Charles E. Reese. Senator Beveridge was again instrumental in securing the man the Concordia authorities preferred. There are two letters and a telegram on file from Senator Beveridge, attesting to his great interest in Concordia and the great amount of time he devoted to Concordia in his work.⁴⁵ Special Order No. 103, May 1910, announced that Lieutenant Reese was to relieve Captain Leonard on August 1, 1910, and that he was to report at Concordia in person "on or about July 15, 1910."⁴⁶ He, in turn, was relieved of his duties at Concordia in December 1912, thus completing a little more than two years of service here.⁴⁷ Lieutenant Reese served the Con-

⁴¹ Pres. files. Telegram by McCain, September 30, 1906.

⁴² Telephone conversation with Prof. Erwin Schnedler, June 16, 1955. Professor Schnedler was a member of the battalion at that time.

⁴³ Pres. files. Official Notice of War Department, February 26, 1910.

⁴⁴ *Maroon and White*, IV (October 4, 1929), p. 1.

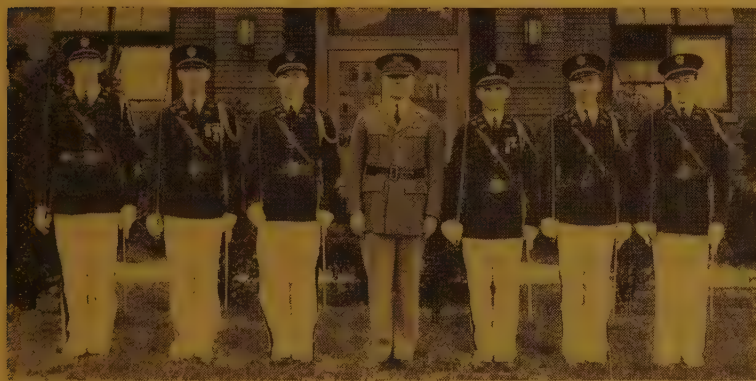
⁴⁵ Pres. files. Letters, December 10, 1909, and March 26, 1910 (very lengthy letter); telegram, May 3, 1910. In the letter of March 26 Senator Beveridge stated: "I shall be glad to do anything I can to assist in accomplishing what you desire when the time comes for action."

⁴⁶ Pres. files. Special Orders No. 103, May 3, 1910.

⁴⁷ Pres. files. Special Orders, November 4, 1912; November 22, 1912; December 6, 1912.

cordia battalion with warm and sincere affection. Concordia was his alma mater, and he was a member of St. Paul's Lutheran Church. He was the only commandant who had attended the college. Coupled with all of these ties, his was a personality that easily accommodated itself to the position of leadership and trust he held. His success was greatly assured by these lovable traits of his. During his first year at Concordia, he was commissioned as a captain and later was honored with a colonelcy.

In the same month, December 1912, in which Capt. Reese left, First Lieutenant Launcelot M. Purcell was ordered to assume his duties at Concordia with these direct words: "You will proceed without unnecessary delay to that place and report in person."⁴⁸ No



Staff of Military Dept., 1935—36

Left to right: Cadet Capt. Otto Toelke, Co. A; Cadet Capt. Paul Bente, Co. B; Cadet Capt. Erwin Schnedler, Co. D; Commandant Edward F. Gallagher, W. O., U. S. A.; Cadet Maj. Karl Zisman; Cadet Capt. Walter Lichtsinn, Co. C; Cadet Capt. Herbert Vogel, Band

specific time was set for his arrival. He assumed his duties in January 1913, but was very abruptly transferred to another post of duty on August 1, 1913, in a letter from A. F. Ladd, couched in cryptic words, as follows: "Orders have been issued relieving him from his duties there, it appearing that the military instruction there is not of sufficient importance to warrant continuance of the detail of an officer from the active list."⁴⁹ This was certainly a most unexpected announcement! Mr. Ladd hastened to add that any retired officer would be detailed to the Concordia post and that President Luecke

⁴⁸ Special Orders, December 27, 1912, and letter by A. F. Ladd, December 28, 1912.

⁴⁹ Pres. files. Letter by A. F. Ladd, August 1, 1913.

could select any person from the retired list. The upshot of this stroke of lightning from the clear blue sky was that Lieutenant Purcell was relieved of his duties here, thus Concordia became the victim of either a change in Government policy or of an economy drive.

Lieutenant Purcell left Concordia in the summer of 1913. Students of that day remember him as an officer with a passion for immaculate dress and military bearing. The ubiquitous swagger stick and the perfect reflection of the surrounding scenery in his puttees were reflections of his concept of the military ideal. He made an enduring impression upon the Cadets!

Although misfortune had struck so suddenly, nevertheless a happy solution was found for the problem. This part of the military history reads like a TV scenario. Again Concordia's luck held out! In January 1914 Captain George L. Byroade reported for duty. His first letter on file and addressed to President Luecke stated that he had applied for the position "as per your advertisement in the *Army and Navy Journal*."⁵⁰ A special order was relayed to Concordia reporting that Captain Byroade "at his own request is relieved from duty at Miami Military Institute, Germantown, Ohio," and that the order was effective on January 31, 1914.⁵¹ Thus Captain Byroade came to Concordia and continued his duties here until September, 1917, when he was sent to a new post at Norwich University at Northfield, Vermont.⁵²

How fortunate, once more, Concordia was to benefit from the services of an able and consecrated man! True, he was drafted, so to speak, and was taken from the retired list. Yet he was in perfect health and, above all, displayed an extraordinary drive. He introduced the first military tournaments and also early morning calisthenics and setting-up exercises for ten minutes before breakfast.⁵³ He also served as athletic coach and introduced inter-company track meets.⁵⁴ A wonderful leader, he was esteemed so highly by the class of 1918 that their *Concordian* was dedicated to him, the only commandant at Concordia ever to be honored in that manner.

⁵⁰ Pres. files. Letter by Captain Byroade, November 19, 1913.

⁵¹ Pres. files. Special Order, January 26, 1914.

⁵² *Concordian*, 1918, p. 63.

⁵³ "Tournaments," *Concordian*, 1915, p. 48; "Calisthenics," *Concordian*, 1918, p. 65.

⁵⁴ *Concordian*, 1916, p. 53.

After Captain Byroade's transfer, disaster threatened the military department once more, and with a vengeance. This time it was WAR! For two years the Cadets carried on without a Government man to guide them. Before leaving, Captain Byroade, in his great concern for Concordia's weal, had left instructions for the organization of the battalion in September of 1917.⁵⁵ Frantic efforts were made to secure the services of Colonel Leonard, who had been the first commandant and who was then stationed at Camp Travis, San Antonio, Tex.⁵⁶ But all efforts proved futile, and so student officers continued all military activities of the battalion according to procedures learned from the preceding commandants and without any serious relaxation of the standards that had been attained. In fact, the battalion received the highest commendation by an Army officer in a letter to President Luecke in which he stated: "No one could possibly have done better than you and your Cadet officers have done since 1917."⁵⁷

After these two hectic years, the fifth commandant reported for duty in September 1919, when Sergt. Harry Small began to guide the Cadets. During his administration efforts were made to establish a regular Junior R. O T. C. unit at Concordia in place of the 55C unit. After some negotiating, the Government finally replied in the negative, and the reason given was the lack of Federal funds.⁵⁸ As the time for a replacement approached, the Army officials promised to send a warrant officer or some non-commissioned officer.⁵⁹ The general order which sent Warrant Officer Clarence Mitchell to Concordia College was issued in July, and his new post was taken in September. Warrant Officer Mitchell was serving at Fifth Corps Area Headquarters, Fort Hayes, Ohio, the headquarters which had jurisdiction over the unit.⁶⁰ He held the rank of major in the Army Reserve Corps and was a man of sincere principles, every inch a soldier, and a considerate gentle-

⁵⁵ *Concordian*, 1918, p. 63.

⁵⁶ Pres. files. Letter by President Luecke to Col. Creel F. Cox, General Staff, September 18, 1919.

⁵⁷ Pres. files. Letter to President Luecke by Edward S. Johnston, June 9, 1922. Col. James F. McKinley, District Inspector, expressed the following opinion: "The morale of the unit is excellent . . . an excellent drill, considering that all instruction has been given under the supervision of a cadet officer." Letter to President Luecke by James F. McKinley, Col. Inf., U. S. A., December 31, 1919.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem* supra, note 19.

⁵⁹ Pres. files. Letter to President Wm. C. Burhop by H. D. Mitchell, June 28, 1926.

⁶⁰ Pres. files. Special Orders, July 27, 1926.

man. His bearing was strictly military, and yet his leadership was always guided by his heart and fair judgment. His services were terminated on June 10, 1932, when he was transferred for duty in the Panama Canal Zone.⁶¹

The seventh commandant at Concordia was Warrant Officer Edward F. Gallagher, who came here from R. O. T. C. duty at the University of Kentucky. For one reason or another his arrival was delayed till October 9, 1932. An innovation which created much interest at the time was the organization of a girls' rifle team. Warrant Officer Gallagher left Concordia with a heavy heart on the last day of 1938 to begin his duties with the Sixth Corps Area Headquarters in Chicago.⁶² With a heart of gold and with the genteel bearing of a Southern gentleman showing in every word he uttered, his love for the Cadets and his deep interest in his work as a leader rang with a sincerity that was joyful to behold. His personality radiated from everything he did. His departure caused many a lump in the throats of the Cadets!

Lieutenant Paul G. Foster, unmarried at the time, took over the helm on January 1, 1939. But he arrived in Fort Wayne in November and observed the work here.⁶³ This is the first instance, it seems, that this was done. He was also the youngest commandant to serve Concordia, being twenty-seven years old. His genuine display of interest in the welfare of the students and fine military bearing were an asset in performing his tasks successfully. Before his transfer, First Lieutenant Leo Laier, a native of Fort Wayne, became Lieutenant Foster's assistant on February 27, 1941, and then took over the command when Lieutenant Foster left Concordia on April 12, 1941.⁶⁴ Lieutenant Laier came here from his post at Culver Military Academy. His services were terminated in June 1944, and T. Sergeant Charles Kennedy from the University of Dayton came here in September 1944 and continued in charge for three years, until June 1947.

Then disaster, once again, threatened the military department; as in 1917 and 1918 the crisis was serious. For one reason or another, despite the fact that the war was over, Concordia could not receive an appointment. Once more the gap was filled in a most efficient manner by a group of Reserve Officers of the Army,

⁶¹ *News Sentinel*, February 27, 1932.

⁶² *Journal Gazette*, December 31, 1938.

⁶³ *Journal Gazette*, November 28, 1938.

⁶⁴ *Journal Gazette*, February 27, 1941.

all of whom rendered hours and hours of unselfish service. Major W. J. Schnedler, a former Cadet Major, and at present chaplain at the Lutheran Hospital in Fort Wayne (1955), was asked to head this group at the request of President Bredemeier.⁶⁵ Major Schnedler was efficiently assisted by Lieut. Col. Ed. D. Knake, Major Stanley Meyers, and First Lieut. Charles Taylor. So the military department suffered no loss of prestige and no setback in its operation in this crisis.

The eleventh commandant was Capt. Edgar W. Oetting, who took over in September 1948, although he had helped out some before the close of the preceding school year. In September 1954 Capt. Ron Venderley took the place of Captain Oetting. Captain Venderley is still in charge of the military unit at the Lutheran High School (1955).

These twelve U. S. Army officers served the Cadets throughout the history of the department at Concordia College. Not all were of equal caliber and ability. By general consensus of the faculty and alumni who had voiced their opinions, only about three, it seems, could be rated as inferior. One of these was considered "unsatisfactory" by the Army officials themselves.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the great majority, and by the same token, viz., faculty and alumni consensus, was held in high esteem, and this opinion was deserved to the highest degree. It was a pleasure, indeed, to have been associated with these fine men!

Special Events

Military activities provided many colorful events in student life, which tends to become monotonous and drab in a dormitory school. One of the high marks which brought glamor once each year were the military tournaments. Colonel Byroade staged the first tournament, apparently in 1914.⁶⁷ Prizes for the various competitive events were donated by merchants from downtown.⁶⁸ The program was presented in the latter part of March.⁶⁹ The

⁶⁵ All of this information is from a telephone conversation with Major Schnedler, November 3, 1953.

⁶⁶ There are two letters by two different Army officers in the president's files which record this opinion. For very obvious reasons these letters will not be identified specifically here. The writer has touched on this matter only for the sake of presenting a complete picture.

⁶⁷ *Concordian*, 1915, p. 48; *Concordian*, 1917, p. 41.

⁶⁸ *Concordian*, 1915, p. 48.

⁶⁹ *Concordian*, 1917, p. 41.

tournaments were presented in the middle of the school year for many years, e. g., March 12 in 1915; February 22 and 23 in 1918; April 14 in 1923; April 5 in 1924.⁷⁰ Later two presentations were regularly made in order to accommodate the crowd. The two presentations of the fourteenth tournament were held in the old gymnasium on May 7 and 8, 1927; the gymnasium was filled to capacity on both nights.⁷¹ The following year the tournaments were a gala affair and were presented four times in the remodeled gymnasium in June 1928.⁷²

Competition at these tournaments was always spirited. Each company usually prepared one number, such as close order drill, silent manual, fancy drill, and the like. This usually demanded weeks and weeks of hard work by way of preparation. Then there were competitive precision drills for the officers, snap squad, and the like. Events of a lighter vein, but always well received by the spectators, were such competitions as equipment race, wheelbarrow race, pillow-pole fight, wall scaling, tug of war, German drill, and other similar events, which only the fertile minds of dormitory boys could concoct. Then, as a climax to all of the excitement, came the awarding of the prizes.

Another annual event which the Cadets invariably discuss with emotion were the annual parades on Decoration Day. An old picture, now discolored with age, shows the Cadets approaching Lindenwood Cemetery. The first participation of the military unit took place in 1907.⁷³ Permission was granted to take part in the parade only and not in the religious exercises. However, students marched in the Decoration Day parades long before the military department was established. Already in 1876 the students were permitted to march as a body in the parade, provided they disbanded at the gates of Lindenwood and took no part in the religious ceremonies.⁷⁴ The neatly dressed unit always won profuse plaudits of praise along the line of march. In fact, large crowds always lined the streets even at Concordia when the battalion drilled on the athletic field. The second issue of *Der*

⁷⁰ *Concordian*, 1915, p. 48; *Concordian*, 1918, p. 65; *Concordian*, 1923, p. 96; *Concordian*, 1924, p. 42.

⁷¹ *Maroon and White*, I, No. 12, p. 1; April 28, 1927; I, No. 13, p. 1; May 12, 1927.

⁷² *Maroon and White*, II (April 27, 1928), p. 1.

⁷³ Faculty minutes, April 6, 1907, p. 123.

⁷⁴ Faculty minutes, May 19, 1876. These minutes were written in the hand of Prof. F. W. Stelhorn. The page is not numbered.

Concordianer proudly presented a full-page picture of the Cadets on parade on the drill grounds (where Crull Hall and Sihler Hall now stand).⁷⁵

Sham battles may be classed as the spectacular among the public appearances of the battalion. The first of these was planned by Major Mitchell and was staged with a great fanfare of publicity on April 23, 1932, in the North Side High School stadium.⁷⁶ The ammunition was supplied by the National Guard. In 1950/1951 an overnight sham battle was staged under the



Company "Y" — Close Order Drill; Captain Edward Hessler

supervision of Captain Oetting.⁷⁷ Of course, this event was not staged before a formal audience.

Another annual affair which the Cadets eagerly looked forward to were the regular government inspections. These were not, as some might think, just formalities to be carried out. Of course, much depended upon the inspecting officer, but most of these were rather exacting. The mornings were usually devoted to inspection of the classroom subjects on military tactics and drill,

⁷⁵ *Der Concordianer*, 1908, No. 2, p. 15.

⁷⁶ *Journal Gazette*, April 12, 1932; April 22, 1932.

⁷⁷ *Concordian*, 1951, p. 64.

while the afternoon event of greatest significance was the battalion parade with inspection. The records reveal many ratings of superior excellence, usually couched in words of highest commendation, such as "splendid work," "excellent," "satisfactory," "ceremonies and close order were excellent," "excellent drill." It was, in fact, taken more or less for granted that the rating was always of the highest order.

On May 24 and 25, 1930, one of the most memorable events in the entire history of the military department at Concordia took place. The Detroit Lutherans, always warm friends of the college, invited the entire Concordia family, students and faculty, to come to Detroit via the Wabash Railroad to participate in the 400th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession at the Michigan State Fair Grounds.⁷⁸ All who shared in this great experience will long remember the generous hospitality showered upon them by their hosts in Detroit. These were two great days for Concordia!

The organization of a rifle team provided many pleasant experiences for those interested in the sport. Many records were hung up by the Concordia team in its many postal and shoulder to shoulder matches. The first girls' rifle team made its appearance when Warrant Officer Gallagher, as mentioned above, organized a group in 1936.⁷⁹ Nearly 25 girls were present for the organizational meeting, and they fired every Wednesday from 3 to 5 o'clock. This was not just an ephemeral flash in the pan, for in 1938, two years later, there was still sufficient interest to bring 16 girls out for the competitions to win places on the team.⁸⁰ This, by the way, was not an invasion of the military department by the fair sex. This rifle team had nothing to do with the military department whatsoever. And it may be stated here that girls never participated in any military events of the battalion. There never were girls in the band, NEVER any majorettes!

Led by the gaily bedecked and high-stepping drum major, the band always was the most colorful unit of the battalion, on parade or on the drill grounds. The earliest band leader mentioned was Mr. Paul Schuelke, at that time teacher at Zion School.⁸¹ He was succeeded by Mr. John L. Verwiere in 1916—

⁷⁸ *Maroon and White*, IV, No. 15, p. 1; May 23, 1930. Pres. files, "Text for Detroit Program," an account of Concordia College, one page, single spaced.

⁷⁹ *Maroon and White*, X (February 7, 1936), p. 1.

⁸⁰ *Maroon and White*, XIII (December 15, 1938), p. 1.

⁸¹ *Concordian*, 1916, p. 75.

1917.⁸² In 1927 he composed "The March Concordia" in honor of the Cadets.⁸³ Mr. Verwiere, in turn, was highly honored when the U. S. Army Band included this march on its program in a concert here in Fort Wayne on October 12, 1928.⁸⁴ In the fall of 1933, Mr. Herman O. Lenz replaced Mr. Verwiere as conductor of the band.⁸⁵ He also conducted the Fort Wayne Walther League band at that time. Mr. Arnold Lehman next headed the band, and in the last years before the close of the military department he was succeeded by Mr. Reinhold Werling, who holds the same position now (1955).

The Cadet battalion also served on sad occasions, as, for instance, when it formed the honor guard and led the cortege to Concordia Cemetery to the funeral of President Luecke in 1926. Another occasion, accompanied with a display of much emotion, took place on February 2, 1937, when the entire battalion, including the band, accompanied the family car of the Burhop's via Washington Street to Harrison Street downtown, where a military salute was presented by all of the companies.⁸⁶ This event marked the departure of the Burhop family when it left for Madison, Wis., where President Burhop served as student pastor at the University of Wisconsin.

The extremely small Cadets posed a perennial problem as each school year started in September. Various plans were tried, such as placing all of the small Cadets in one company, including also officers of comparable size — and there were always some. Another plan was to distribute them evenly in all companies, so that each company had all sizes ranging from the really tall ones on down. An innovation was tried in the fall of 1922, when two squads of a signal corps were organized for those who were too young or too small to handle a full-sized rifle.⁸⁷ These youngsters occupied themselves with mastering the International Morse Code and the Semaphore Code.

It was consistently felt that the military department should supply physical training in addition to regular drill, and many endeavors were made to meet this demand. One answer to the

⁸² *Concordian*, 1917, p. 43.

⁸³ *Maroon and White*, I (April 28, 1927), p. 1.

⁸⁴ *Maroon and White*, XIII (November 2, 1928), p. 2.

⁸⁵ *Maroon and White*, XIII (October 13, 1933), p. 3.

⁸⁶ *News Sentinel*, February 2, 1937.

⁸⁷ *Concordian*, 1923, p. 96.

demand was setting-up exercises before breakfast. These were introduced by Colonel Byroade for the first time.⁸⁸ They soon lapsed into disuse; and as often as they were revived, they soon fell into disuse once more, since they never proved to be popular, however sugar-coated with processes of rationalization.

One of the reasons why the battalion always made a flashy appearance on parade was the uniform. Not having a regular



Company D — 1929

R. O. T. C. unit was an advantage in that the Government did not issue uniforms. The deep blue uniform, with white ducks as alternate wear on occasion, made a beautiful appearance. The first years found the Cadets in Civil-War-type caps. During the year of 1921/1922 the commissioned officers were favored with a special type of ornate uniforms.⁸⁹ They were equipped with breeches and leather puttees after the fashion of the U. S. Army officers. The garrison blue Eisenhower jackets and overseas caps were introduced in 1951/1952.⁹⁰

Student Officers

Next to the commandants, the success of the military department was due to the excellent student officers. The following

⁸⁸ *Concordian*, 1918, p. 65.

⁹⁰ *Luminarian*, 1952, p. 55.

⁸⁹ *Taps*, 1922, p. 22.

is a complete list of student commanders: Major Walter Auping, 1906—07; Major Charles Kandt, 1907—08; Major Walter Lichtsinn, 1908—09; Major W. Gustave Polack, 1909—10; Major Erwin Schnedler, 1910—11; Major William Bode, 1911—12; Major Robert Heyne, 1912—13; Major Walter Dorn, 1913—14; Major O. W. Linnemeier, 1914—15; Major Walter Miller, 1915—16; Major Herbert Levihn and Major Walter Bauer, 1916—17; Major Carl Strodel and Major Karl Matthies, 1917—18; Major Walter Oetting, 1918—19; Major Luther Schuessler, 1919—20; Major Karl Ziegler, 1920—21; Major Ernest T. Lange, 1921—22; Major Wilfred J. Schnedler, 1922—23; Major Herbert Manns, 1923—24; Major Harold A. Basilius, 1924—25; Major Herman W. Gockel, 1925—26; Major Felix Kretzschmar, 1926—27; Major Herman D. Boyer, 1927—28; Major Henry Dederer, 1928—29; Major Walter Warneck, 1929—30; Major Edwin David, 1930—31; Major Lorenz Weber, 1931—32; Major Andrew Cihaj, 1932—33; Major Melvin Helfers, 1933—34; Major Harold Nuoffer, 1934—35; Major Karl Zisman, 1935—36; Major Karl Trautman, 1936—37; Major Paul Schnedler, 1937—38; Major Herman Witzgall, 1938—39; Major Carl G. Schultz, 1939—40; Lieut. Col. Adam Mayer and Major Richard Katt, 1940—41; Lieut. Col. Orville Jabker and Major Douglas Fritz, 1941—42; Lieut. Col. Karl Barth and Major Frederick Kolch, 1942—43; Lieut. Col. Marvin Fritz and Major Oscar Gerken, 1943—44; Lieut. Col. Walther Schoedel (no major), 1944 to January 1945; Lieut. Col. Donald Koenig and Major Harold Krueger, February 1945 to August 1945; Lieut. Col. Harold Steinke and Major Richard Ginter, 1945—46; Lieut. Col. Ralph Schuessler and Major Willo Ungemach, 1946—47; Lieut. Col. Delbert Gremmels and Major Norbert Schaeckel, 1947—48; Lieut. Col. Ronald Harding and Major Richard Herbst, 1948—49; Lieut. Col. Earl Westrick and Major Joe Ellwanger, 1949—50; Lieut. Col. Deane Schuessler and Major Louis Herzog, 1950—51; Lieut. Col. Don Heckler, Major Richard Taron and Major Duane Wuggazer, 1951—52; Lieut. Col. David Nahrwold, Major Walter Avant and Major Ronald Miller, 1952—53; Lieut. Col. James Jaeger, Major Donald Reinking and Major Robert Moellering, 1953—54.

The majors in the two years from 1916 to 1918 served one semester each. In the fall of 1940 the battalion was headed by

two ranking officers, the top rank bearing the title of lieutenant colonel and the old title of major being retained for the second in command.

In 1944 and 1945 Concordia College ran into a speedup program on account of the war, with graduations in January and August in addition to June. That accounts for the dates as listed for those years. There were summer courses for the first time in the history of Concordia in these summers. Drill was maintained in the summer of 1944 but with trying and mounting difficulties, so that no drill was even attempted in the summer of 1945.

This brings the story of the military department at Concordia College to its conclusion. What the final appraisal will be depends upon many factors. There are those who sing its praises without ceasing and find no fault with it whatsoever. On the other hand, there are the critics, and there have always been some of the latter variety. There is no real neutral or middle ground. The true evaluation will perhaps find its place somewhere in between, leaning, it is hoped, heavily toward the favorable side.